SELECTED SPEECHES OF

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

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Introduction by
S. A. AYER

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ment throughout India under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership in 1921, Janakinath interested himself in the constructive activities of the Congress such as Khadi and national education. A deeply religious man, he had always a soft corner in his heart for the poorest of the poor, and before his end came he made a special financial provision for his old servants and dependants.

As a growing child, Subhas Chandra found Cuttack quite congenial. Brought up in his well-to-do middle class home, he escaped the unfortunate traits of selfishness and greed which are often associated with poverty and want in one's early age. Equally he escaped the evils of pampering and snobbery of a home of luxury and lavishness. His parents believed in simplicity in the upbringing of their children.

Having eight brothers and sisters elder to him, and five younger, affected the psychology of Subhas in his early age. He felt insignificant among such a large family, and his parents overawed him. The father's reserve kept the children at a distance. Though more accessible, the mother was also held in awe by most of the children. A woman of strong will with a practical common sense, the mother dominated the domestic scene which the father had to leave alone because of his heavy professional work.

Subhas earned for more intimate contact with his parents and envied those children who enjoyed the heart-warming friendship of their parents. The presence of so many elder brothers and sisters made Subhas feel thoroughly insignificant. He was confronted with a standing challenge to catch up with them He was thus free from overconfidence or cocksureness and came to believe that industry and good behaviour were the sole passports to success. Though the environment of his large family helped him broaden his mind, he could not shed his shy reserve even after he grew up to be a man of the masses later in life.

At the age of five Subhas was sent to the English school at Cuttack. He did very well in his seven years of study, but somehow could not feel at home there because he did not take part in sports or games which were a very important part of education in a school run on European lines. Also, Subhas became conscious of the two different worlds, one represented by his family and society which was India, and the other represented by the school atmosphere which was a near approach to England. Indian boys in the school were told that because they were Indians they could not sit for certain scholarship examinations though in their annual examinations they topped the class. Anglo-Indian boys could join the Volunteer Corps but Indian boys were debarred. Small incidents like these began to open Subhas's eyes to the fact that Indian boys were a class apart though they belonged to the same institution. To the extent that he stayed away from

on him. Politics was taboo in his house and he could not therefore take part in any political activity. But he and his brothers derived satisfaction from cutting out pictures of revolutionaries and hanging them up in their study.

Subhas received his first political impetus when he was 15. At a psychologically opportune moment, a student visitor from Calcutta told Subhas of a group in Calcutta which had as its ideal spiritual uplift and national service along constructive lines. The visitor talked to Subhas and his friends passionately about their duty to their country and about the Calcutta group to which he belonged. Subhas was deeply impressed and from then on established regular contact with the group. As he approached the end of his school career, his religious impulse began to grow in intensity and studies were no longer of primary importance.

In his home Subhas was fortunate to grow in an environment conducive to the broadening of his mind. His going to an English school first and then to an Indian school, and the inter-provincial contacts and friendships even while at school, combined to widen his horizon. His attitude towards Muslims in general was largely influenced by his early contacts: living in a Muslim locality, taking part in their festivals, watching his father whom Muslims looked up to as a patriarch, and having Muslim teachers and Muslim class-mates, to say nothing of devoted Muslim servants at home.

When Subhas took to religion and yoga seriously and insisted on perfect freedom of movement and action, he frequently came up against parental instructions. He had no hesitation in disobeying them because by that time he had been convinced, under the inspiration of Vivekananda, that revolt was necessary for self-fulfilment. He must have appeared to his teachers and parents as wayward, eccentric and obstinate, neglecting his studies and running after ash-laden Sadhus. Nothing mattered to him except his inner dreams. The more resistance he met, the more obstinate he became. His parents then thought that a change of environment might do him good and that the realistic atmosphere of Calcutta would help him shed his eccentricities and take to a normal life.

He sat for the Matriculation Examination in 1913, when he had just completed 15, and came out second in the whole University. His parents were delighted, and he was packed off to Calcutta.

By the time he left school he had arrived at certain decisions for himself; he would not follow the beaten track but would lead a life conducive to his spiritual welfare and the uplift of humanity. Standing on the threshold of a college career, Subhas was convinced that life had a meaning and a purpose and that to fulfil the purpose, a regular schooling of the body and mind was necessary. This self-

discipline stood him in good stead when faced with the trials and tribulations of his later years.

In Cuttack Subhas had gathered round himself only a small group of eccentric schoolboys; in Calcutta he found crowds of them and soon became the despair of his parents Even before he actually entered his first term in the Presidency College, he took advantage of the summer vacation in Calcutta to contact the group whose emissary he had met a year earlier in Cuttack. In the college he began looking round for like-minded young men among his class-mates. His group in the class attracted a certain amount of attention because it consciously wore a puritanic exterior, but the group went about unconcerned.

Though the college was a Government institution, the students were anything but loyalists; as only the best students were admitted, they were free thinkers and attracted the attentions of the British rulers' secret police. The main hostel of the college was looked upon as a hot-bed of sedition and a rendezvous of revolutionaries; no wonder then that the police often carried out raids on the premises. Calling themselves the neo-Vivekananda Group, Subhas and his friends aimed at bringing about a synthesis between religion and nationalism. The emphasis on nationalism was inevitable in the then political atmosphere of Calcutta. Vivekananda had emphasised social service through national reconstruction, mainly in the educational sphere. In recruiting new members to the group, attention was given to enlisting brilliant students who would become trained professors in preparation for the educational scheme to be launched by the group. Week-ends and holidays were spent mostly away from home, often without permission, in search of men who could give spiritual light and inspiration.

Politically the group was against terroristic activity and secret conspiracy. It was therefore not so popular among students in the then prevailing atmosphere of the terrorist revolutionary movement in Bengal. But because the group was very active, it nevertheless aroused the suspicions of the secret police.

In Subhas's undergraduate days, Aurobindo Ghose was easily the most popular leader in Bengal, despite his voluntary exile in the French settlement of Pondicherry since 1909. A regular reader of Aurobindo's monthly journal, *Arya*, Subhas was impressed by that mystic's deeper philosophy—how by a proper use of the different yogas one could rise step by step to the highest truth. Surendranath Banerjee, a hero of Bengal and one of the makers of the Indian National Congress, did not impress Subhas despite his flowery rhetoric and consummate oratory as he lacked that deeper passion which Subhas found in Aurobindo's simple words: "I should like to see some of you becoming great; great not for your own sake, but to make India great, so that she may stand up with head erect amongst the free

nations of the world. Those of you who are poor and obscure—I should like to see their poverty and obscurity devoted to the service of the motherland. Work that she might prosper, suffer that she might rejoice." Subhas had heard his eldest brother fondly repeating these inspiring words of Aurobindo.

Not taking any interest in politics so far, Subhas confined his attention to meeting religious teachers and qualifying for social service. In the latter field Subhas began helping a society that gave aid to the poor by collecting money and foodstuffs every Sunday through begging from door to door. He joined the student volunteers who did this begging. It was a novel and agonising experience for Subhas, on the first day, to go sack in hand to beg for rice, and he fought hard to overcome a strong sense of shame.

At college Subhas neglected his studies as he found the lecturers and the professors generally quite uninteresting but he went out of his way to get acquainted with professors like Sir P. C. Ray, the eminent chemist and philanthropist. Subhas engaged himself in various activities of the student community, organising debates, collecting funds for flood and famine relief, representing the students before the authorities and going out on excursions with fellow-students. Very soon he began shedding his introvert tendencies.

During one of the college vacations which he spent with his parents at Cuttack, he joined some members of his old set on a nursing expedition to a place some miles away which was stricken with cholera. The group took hardly any precautions for themselves against the dreaded infection but concentrated all their attention on bringing succour to the stricken villagers. Subhas's family grew anxious over his long absence and sent a search party in panic when they learnt the nature of his expedition.

Back again in Calcutta after the recess, Subhas continued his search for Sadhus as before, and chanced upon an ascetic, some 60 miles from Calcutta, who practised the ideal of "The sky the roof, the grass the bed and food what chance may bring." Subhas was greatly impressed. His desire to find a Guru now grew stronger and stronger and in the summer vacation of 1914, when he was barely 17, he quietly left on a pilgrimage with a friend without of course, informing anybody at home. He visited such well-known places of pilgrimage as Rishikesh, Hardwar, Muttra, Brindaban, Varanasi and Gaya.

But he returned to Calcutta a disappointed youngman, not having found the Guru he had wanted so much. A few days later he fell ill with typhoid—the price of pilgrimage and guru-hunting.

While Subhas lay in bed, World War I broke out.

In college or in the hostel Subhas often met leaders of the terrorist revolutionary movement but was never drawn to them, not because he

believed in non-violence but because he was in a world of his own and believed that the people's salvation would come through national reconstruction. Sometimes his group seriously discussed the question whether it would not be a feasible plan to let the British manage the defence of India and reserve the civil administration to Indians. But soon two factors made Subhas develop politically and strike out an independent line for himself. These were the behaviour of Britishers in Calcutta, and World War I.

Subhas frequently read of incidents of British arrogance and rudeness towards Indians on the trams, on the streets and on railways. He was also himself involved in such incidents. He was not only sensitive by temperament but had been accustomed to a different treatment from infancy. In conflicts of inter-racial character, the law was of no avail to Indians. When Indians began to take the law into their own hands, the effect was instantaneous. Naturally, word went round that the Englishman understood and respected physical force and nothing else. Aud this provided the psychological basis for the terroist revolutionary movement in Bengal.

While these unpleasant experiences roused Subhas's political consciousness, it was World War I that convinced him that a nation which did not possess military strength could not hope to preserve its independence.

In spite of neglecting his studies for two years, Subhas passed the Intermediate examination with credit in 1915. He fulfilled a long-cherished desire by taking the honours course in philosophy for his B.A. degree, and took his studies seriously for the first time in his college career. Early next year, however, his academic life received a severe jolt as the result of a sudden incident in the college. A British professor named E. F. Oaten manhandled some of Subhas's classmates when they were walking along the corridor adjoining the professor's lecture-room. As the class representative, Subhas took the matter up with the Principal but failed to get satisfaction. A general strike of all students followed and the Principal levied a fine on all absentee students. After two days, however, pressure was brought to bear on Mr. Oaten to settle the matter amicably with the student representatives.

A similar incident a month later resulted in Mr. Oaten being assaulted by a group of students. Subhas was an eye-witness but did not take part in the assault. The Government ordered the closure of the college. The Principal fell out with the Government over the wording of the order but before he quit the post he sent for Subhas and said: "Bose, you are the most troublesome man in the college. I suspend you." This was confirmed by the Governing Body and Subhas thus stood expelled from the college. His educational career was at an end and his future was dark and uncertain. But he had no regrets. On the contrary he had the supreme satisfaction of having

sacrificed himself for a noble cause. He had had a foretaste of leadership, though in a small way, and the martyrdom it involved. He had acquired character and could face the future with equanimity In this frame of mind, Subhas left Calcutta and went back to his parents in Cuttack.

To his surprise he found that his parents understood his plight and sympathized with him. Having nothing else to do, Subhas plunged again into social service, especially voluntary nursing of the poorer section of the community suffering from cholera or smallpox, and arranging the cremation of the victims of these diseases by raising money for the funeral expenses.

After a year in Cuttack, Subhas returned to Calcutta to try his luck with the University where Sir Ashutosh Mukherji was the virtual dictator. Growing restless with waiting for the University to reconsider his case, Subhas tried to enlist himself in the 49th Bengali Regiment but was rejected only on the ground of defective eyesight. One more year passed before the University relented. The then Principal of his old college raised no objection to his admission to the Scottish Church College, which was arranged largely through the efforts of Subhas's second brother, Sarat Chandra Bose. Subhas now took to his studies in right earnest and also joined the university unit in the Indian Defence Force (the Territorial Army) During training in camp near Fort William, Subhas donned khaki and took musketry practice; he marvelled at his own transformation—from sitting at the feet of saffron-robed anchorites to standing with a rifle on his shoulder and taking orders from a British officer. Subhas thoroughly enjoyed the soldiering which he found gave a fillip to his feeling of strength and self-confidence. He experienced a strange sensation on the first day when, with other trainees, he marched into Fort William to pick up his rifle. The gates of Fort William were closed to him as an Indian, but were thrown open to him as a soldier. He was puffed up during route-marches through the city, when he and his comrades felt superior to the police and other Government agents who had been harassing and terrorising them.

At the B. A. Examination in 1919 Subhas got first class honours in philosophy but was placed second in order of merit, which came to him as a slight disappointment.

He took experimental psychology for his M.A. course but a few months later his father came up to Calcutta one day and, after a talk with Sarat, asked Subhas suddenly if he would like to go to England to study for the Indian Civil Service examination. Entering the I.C.S. was the greatest ambition of young Indians in those days. Subhas was given 24 hours to make up his mind. The proposal came to him as a total surprise. He had qualms of conscience about joining the I.C.S. and serving under the British. But he made up his mind

to go, saying to himself that he could never pass the examination within the eight months that would be left after reaching England; because of his age he had only one chance to appear for the examination. If, however, he got through, well, there would be plenty of time to decide what to do.

Subhas sailed for England on the 15th of September 1919. Arriving there five weeks later, he secured admission in Cambridge University and settled down to work in the first week of November. Before he sailed for England, the Jallianwala Bagh massacre had already taken place, Punjab was under martial law, and because of strict censorship there were only vague rumours in Bengal of some terrible happenings at Lahore and Amritsar. On the whole the public of India were ignorant of what had been going on in the Punjab, and Subhas left for England in a complacent mood.

At Cambridge he had an unusually large number of lectures to attend. The subjects for his Civil Service Examination were: English Composition, Sanskrit, Philosophy, English Law, Political Science, Modern European History, English History, Economics and Geography.

What greatly impressed Subhas at Cambridge was the measure of freedom allowed to students and the general esteem in which they were held. This was in striking contrast to the police-ridden city of Calcutta where every student was suspect as a potential revolutionary.

Early in July 1920, eight months after he joined Cambridge University, Subhas sat for the Civil Service Open Competition in London, and though he had worked hard, he was not very hopeful. To his surprise, however, he was not only successful in the examination but came out fourth.

Now he faced the most difficult problem in his career so far. Was he to bid goodbye to all his dreams and aspirations and settle down to a comfortable life? It took him seven long agonising months finally to make up his mind. Meanwhile he corresponded with his second brother, Sarat, on the subject. The letters give an insight into the mind of Subhas, who had to take a fateful decision which he knew would very much hurt his parents. Here are some extracts:

"The Civil Service can bring one all kinds of worldly comfort, but are not these acquisitions made at the expense of one's soul?......... national and spiritual aspirations are not compatible with obedience to the Civil Service conditions......

"On principle I cannot accept the idea of being a part of the machinery which has outlived the days of its usefulness and stands at present for all that is connected with conservation, selfish power, heartlessness and red-tapism......

"I am now at the crossways and no compromise is possible. I must either chuck this rotten Service and dedicate myself wholehearted-

ly to the country's cause, or I must bid adieu to all my ideals and aspirations and enter the Service......

"If C. R. Das at his age can give up everything and face the uncertainties of life I am sure a young man like myself, who has no worldly cares to trouble him, is much more capable of doing so.....

"The illustrious example of Aurobindo Ghose looms large before my vision. I feel that I am ready to make the sacrifice which that example demands of me......

"I believe we shall get Home Rule within ten years and certainly earlier if we are ready to pay the price. The price consists of sacrifices and suffering. Only on the soil of sacrifice and suffering can we raise our national edifice. If we all stick to our jobs and look after our own interests, I don't think we shall get Home Rule even in 50 years...

"We have got to make a nation and a nation can be made only by the uncompromising idealism of Hampden and Cromwell......

"I have come to believe that it is time for us to wash our hands clean of any connection with the British Government......

"The best way to end a Government is to withdraw from it...... I sent in my resignation a few days ago......

"C. R. Das has written, in reply to a letter of mine, about the work that is already being done. He complains that there is a dearth of sincere workers at present. There will consequently be plenty of congenial work for me when I return home......The die is cast and I earnestly hope that nothing but good will come out of it."

* * *

IT IS a common saying that the child is the father of the man. I have sketched at length the childhood, adolescence and youth of Subhas until he finished his university education, because the way he was shaping at home and school and at college in India and England, and the deliberate manner of his sacrificing a brilliant career, unmistakably pointed to the path he was later to tread for 25 years as the stormy petrel of Indian politics.

By the time he landed back on Indian soil at Bombay on July 16, 1921, Subhas, who was now just over 23, had prepared himself physically, mentally, intellectually and spiritually for whatever the future held for him. Although in later years he confessed to being a fatalist, he had an inborn sense of destiny, and he worked tirelessly in fulfilment of that destiny. Small wonder that he plunged headlong into the freedom movement from the day he returned to his motherland, and knew no rest until the day, 25 years later, when he flew from Saigon

on an important mission in the capacity of Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind.

Immediately on landing in Bombay he called on Mahatma Gandhi at his Laburnum Road residence and had an intimate talk with the leader who had launched a countrywide movement of progressive non-co-operation against the British rulers. Subhas was about to join this campaign and therefore wished to understand the Mahatma's mind and have a clear conception of the plan of action. The Mahatma answered Subhas's volley of questions with his characteristic patience For Subhas three points needed elucidation. How were the different activities conducted by the Congress going to culminate in the last stage of the campaign, namely, the non-payment of taxes? How could mere non-payment of taxes or civil disobedience force the Government to retire from the field and leave Indians free? How could the Mahatma promise Swaraj within one year as he had been doing since the last annual session of the Indian National Congress? Subhas was satisfied with the reply to the first question, but not so regarding the other two. However, he accepted the Mahatma's advice to him to report to Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das on reaching Calcutta.

This was the first time in his life that Subhas had met Mahatma Gandhi. For the young man poised on the threshold of public life, it was a fateful meeting, and it was a failure in its immediate purpose. Agreement on the ultimate objective of India's freedom from foreign rule, but fundamental differences on the method of achieving the objective, largely characterised the political relations between these two leaders from the day Subhas first met the Mahatma in Bombay in July 1921 till they met for the last time at Wardha in June 1940. With the Mahatma, non-violence was a living creed; with Subhas, it was an article of faith that the use of force was necessary to dislodge the alien ruler from Indian soil. Subhas himself has recorded that at their last meeting the Mahatma said to Subhas that if the latter's effort to win freedom for India succeeded then the Mahatma's telegram of congratulations would be the first that Subhas would receive.

Now to resume the narrative. On reaching Calcutta, Subhas took the earliest opportunity to meet Deshbandhu Das. By the time their conversation was over, Subhas's mind was made up. He felt he had found a leader and meant to follow him. The Deshbandhu was not the same Mr. Das whom Subhas had once approached for advice as a student expelled from the University for political reasons. He was not the same Mr. Das who was earning thousands in a day and spending thousands in an hour. Though his house was no longer a palace, he was, however, the same Mr. Das who had always been a friend of youth, could understand their aspirations and sympathize with them in their sorrows. During their talk, Subhas began to feel that here was

a man who knew what he was about and to whom youthfulness was not a shortcoming but a virtue.

Subhas soon settled down in Calcutta and began to take stock of the situation in the country. Unparalleled enthusiasm throughout the land had given a fair chance for the success of the "triple boycott" of foreign cloth, legislatures, and courts and educational institutions. While certain intellectual elements including the Indian liberals opposed the non-co-operation movement, and the Revolutionary Party opposed the cult of non-violence, the Mahatma received a tremendous volume of mass support. However, till nearly the end of 1921 there was no sign of a countrywide conflict with authority nor of the Swaraj promised "within one year". At this moment of Congress depression, the Government announced that the Prince of Wales would visit India and land in Bombay in November. The Congress High Command immediately decided on a boycott of the visit. The boycott was so complete in Calcutta that the Bengal Government was goaded by the British-owned newspapers to declare Congress volunteers to be illegal. Thousands of students and factory workers began to enlist as volunteers, and two big prisons in the city were filled with political prisoners. Subhas had already become a member of the Congress and been placed in charge of this campaign. The Government resorted to drastic action to stem the growing tide of defiance and ordered the arrest of Deshbandhu Das and his close associates including Subhas Chandra Bose; by the evening of December 10, 1921, they found themselves in prison. This was the first time in his political career that Subhas was arrested by the British; by the time he disappeared from his home in 1941, that is, within a space of 20 years, the British detained him as a political prisoner no fewer than eleven times. Subhas's imprisonment in December 1921 brought to an abrupt end his work as principal of the Bengal National College, Publicity Officer of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and Captain of the National Volunteer Corps.

Before the end of the year, with the exception of Mahatma Gandhi, all the front-rank leaders including Pandit Motilal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai and Deshbandhu Das were in prison. Differences between the Mahatma on the one hand and the other leaders had already become evident on the issue of the move by the Viceroy, Lord Reading, for a political settlement. Deshbandhu Das, still a prisoner, urged the Mahatma to accept the offer; the Mahatma agreed too late and the Viceroy in the meanwhile had changed his mind. The Deshbandhu and many others with him felt that the chance of a life-time had been lost.

The year 1922 witnessed an anti-climax to the non-co-operation movement when Mahatma Gandhi suspended the campaign for the

non-payment of taxes because of mob violence against policemen in Chauri Chaura in the United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh). A month later, in March 1922, the Mahatma was arrested in Ahmedabad and sentenced to six years' simple imprisonment. In the course of the same year Deshbandhu Das and his other associates in jail worked out a plan to enter the legislatures and to bring the administration to a halt. Orthodox followers of the Mahatma, known as the no-changers, opposed this plan of council-entry, but at the Congress Session held at Gaya at the year-end, under Deshbandhu's presidentship, Pandit Motilal Nehru announced the formation of the Swaraj Party. Deshbandhu Das formally resigned the Congress presidentship to leave himself free to work in opposition to the official policy of the Congress.

Subhas Chandra Bose, who had been released early in the year, kept himself busy with flood relief work under Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray; he also assumed the editorship of *Banglar Katha*. The Swaraj Party programme of contesting elections to the Central and Provincial legislatures became increasingly popular in large parts of the country. Subhas Bose became Manager of the *Forward*, the new daily organ of the Swaraj Party, and also Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.

An extension of the programme of council-entry to the civic field in Calcutta resulted in a thumping victory for the Swaraj Party in March 1924. Deshbandhu Das was elected Mayor of Calcutta, and Subhas Bose was appointed Chief Executive Officer at the age of 27. As the head of the administration of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation, and under the inspiring leadership of his chief and Mayor, Subhas revolutionized the relations between the Corporation and the public of Calcutta. The British vested interests in the city found themselves suddenly deprived of their importance. For the first time the people began to feel that municipal officers and employees were public servants and not mere bureaucrats. For himself, Subhas Bose had accepted Rs. 1,500 per month as salary instead of Rs. 3,000 per month attached to the post of Chief Executive Officer. The heavy responsibilities of his office absorbed all his time and attention, and yet he was arrested along with a number of other Congressmen in October in a desperate attempt by the British rulers ostensibly to scotch a revolutionary conspiracy but actually to stem the rising tide of the Swaraj Party's popularity throughout the country. The agitation over the arrest of Subhas Bose was the strongest as the public thought that the real object of the Government was to strike at the Swarajist administration of the Corporation. He was first lodged in jails in Bengal and then removed to the Mandalay jail in Burma, which was then administratively attached to India. Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak had been detained in this very jail for six years, and Lala Lajpat Rai for one year. The memory

of this jail's association with the names of great Indian patriots was a source of comfort to Subhas in Mandalay. He remained in Mandalay for nearly two-and-a-half years till he was brought back to Bengal in May 1927 and released on grounds of health. During his detention in Mandalay he went on a six-week hunger-strike as a protest against the British authorities' refusal to facilitate the observance of religious ceremonies such as Durga Puja, which is the most important festival of the year for any Bengali.

Nearly two years before he was brought back from Mandalay jail and released in Calcutta, Subhas had suffered the severest personal blow in the death of his leader, Deshbandhu Das. The disappearance of the Deshbandhu's towering personality from the political arena was a great misfortune for India, and the Swaraj Party was paralysed.

Thus when he returned to his homeland after a political exile of two-and-a-half years, Subhas Bose found the Deshbandhu gone, Mahatma Gandhi in virtual retirement from public life, and Pandit Motilal Nehru abroad due to his daughter-in-law's illness. Subhas Bose had sufficient political apprenticeship under Deshbandhu Das, and had spent enough time in prison, to think and chalk out in his own mind the broad strategy that the country must follow in the years to come if it was to throw off the British yoke.

Soon after his release in Calcutta he was elected president of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee for the first time, and he plunged headlong into active politics once again after a break of more than three years.

Bengal, along with the rest of India, was in the throes of an agitation to boycott the all-White Simon Commission appointed by the then Conservative Government of Britain to tour India and report to Parliament on the fitness of Indians for the next instalment of constitutional reforms. Subhas Bose spearheaded the boycott in Bengal. He then turned his attention to organizing the All-Bengal Students Association and the All-Bengal Youth Association. The same year (1928) Subhas joined Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Srinivasa Iyengar and others to form the Indian Independence League. The Congress Session at Madras at the year-end was notable for the resolution it passed which for the first time defined independence as the goal of the Indian people, for the appointment of representatives of the Left Wing to the Congress High Command (the Working Committee), and for the appointment of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Shuaib Qureshi and Subhas Bose as General Secretaries.

The Calcutta Congress of December 1928 registered the first major trial of strength between the Right and the Left wings. The Mahatma moved the main resolution that if the British Government did not concede a Dominion Status Constitution for India by December 1929 the

Congress would organise non-violent non-co-operation. An amendment to the effect that the Congress would be content with nothing short of independence, which implied severance of the British connection, was moved by Subhas Bose. It was supported by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The amendment was, however, lost by 973 votes to 1,350. Subhas felt at the time that the vote was hardly a free one as the followers of the Mahatma made it a question of confidence and gave it out that if the Mahatma was defeated he would retire from the Congress. "Many people, therefore, voted for his resolution not out of conviction but because they did not want to be a party to forcing the Mahatma out of the Congress. Nevertheless, the voting showed that the Left Wing was strong and influential." The historic Lahore Congress, which met a year later under the Presidentship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru adopted the independence resolution amidst scenes of wild enthusiasm. During the sitting of the Calcutta Congress a procession of 50,000 workers visited the Congress *pandal* to demonstrate their solidarity with the struggle for national freedom. At this Congress, Subhas Bose functioned as the General Officer Commanding Bengal Volunteer Corps which he had raised and trained on military lines, complete with a distinct uniform.

Elected president of the All-India Trade Union Congress, Subhas Bose held this office till 1931.

From now on the personality of Subhas Chandras Bose emerged forcefully in the forefront of the struggle for freedom, organizing and giving a dynamic lead to the youth and students of the country on a national scale, rallying the support of industrial labour by building up trade unionism on solid foundations, and generally spearheading the Leftist elements in the country which were getting more and more impatient for a showdown with the alien regime.

His repeated arrests and imprisonment; election as Mayor of Calcutta (1930); resignation of the office of President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee as a protest against wanton police firing inside the Hijli Detention Camp (1931); election as Treasurer of the All-India Trade Union Congress for 1931-32; banishment to Europe for treatment of tuberculosis of the lungs and intestines, and establishment of personal contact with Vithalbhai Patel in Vienna (1932); arrival in Calcutta from Europe without the Government's permission, and consequent order of home internment (1934); return to Europe for a major operation; attendance at the Conference of the Indian Central European Society held at Vienna; address to the Asiatic Students Conference in Rome opened by Signor Mussolini (1935); visit to Ireland; arrival in Bombay and arrest on board the ship (1936); unconditional release and departure for Europe (1937)—these were among the important events in his stirring political career.

When he was still abroad, in January 1938, Subhas Chandra Bose, at the early age of 41 won the highest honour the nation could bestow on any Indian: he was elected President of the 51st Session of the Indian National Congress to be held at Haripura in Gujarat. After meeting the Irish leader, Mr. De Valera, in Ireland the same month, Subhas Bose returned to India in February and presided over the deliberations of the premier political organization of the country.

It may be said without exaggeration that his presidentship of the Indian National Congress in 1938 proved a turning point in his life and, to some extent, in the history of the country's fight for freedom One of his most important services to India as the Congress President was the formation of a National Planning Committee with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as Chairman, and himself as Convenor.

Subhas Bose felt that a bare year as President of the Congress was inadequate for putting through his manifold programme. He therefore decided to make a second-term bid, though it was a departure from the convention observed till then. This did not meet with Mahatma Gandhi's approval. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya opposed Subhas Bose with Gandhiji's blessings. Subhas however, won the election, which Gandhiji described as his own defeat. The rift between the Right and the Left wings was now open, and the split between Gandhiji and Subhas Bose was almost complete. Most of the members of the Congress Working Committee resigned, and when the Indian National Congress met for its annual session at Tripuri in the Central Provinces (now Madhya Pradesh) in March 1939, Subhas Bose was too ill to play his full part as President. Nevertheless, he made a clear proposal that the Congress should at once send an ultimatum to the British Government demanding independence within six months and should prepare immediately for a national struggle. This proposal was opposed by the Rightists owing allegiance to Gandhiji and by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and was thrown out. Subhas Bose forecast that a war would break out in Europe in six months' time, hence his suggestion to give a six-month ultimatum to Britain. His plea was that if Britain did not grant independence to India within six months, then India should take advantage of war in Europe to seek armed assistance from the powers ranged against Britain in the war. A battle royal was waged at the open session by the Rightist elements loyal to Gandhiji to force the hands of Subhas Bose to appoint the members of his 'Cabinet' (the Congress Working Committee) in consultation with Gandhiji. A bitter controversy raged over this attempt of Gandhiji's lieutenants to fetter the President's free choice of his 'Cabinet' colleagues.

When the All-India Congress Committee met in Calcutta the next month, all attempts at ironing out the differences between Subhas

Bose and the Rightists failed and, amidst boisterous scenes, Subhas Bose announced his resignation of the office of Congress President.

He then formed the Forward Bloc within the Congress in May 1939. In doing so he had two expectations. Firstly, in the event of future conflict with the Right Wing he would be able to fight more effectively, and further he would be able to win over the entire Congress to his point of view one day. Secondly, even if he failed to win over the entire Congress to his point of view, he could in any major crisis, act on his own, even if the Right Wing failed to rise to the occasion. The conflict between the Right Wing and the Forward Block steadily widened and reached its climax when the Congress Working Committee debarred Subhas Bose, twice elected President of the Congress, from holding any position in an elective Congress Committee for three years. This action was taken against Subhas for advising Congressmen to protest against two resolutions passed by the All India Congress Committee which defined the relation of Ministers vis-a-vis the Provincial Congress Committees and laid down that permission should be taken from Provincial Congress Committees for starting passive resistance. Meanwhile, the Forward Bloc was gaining popularity in large parts of the country.

War broke out in Europe in September 1939, exactly as Subhas Bose had predicted six months earlier. The Forward Bloc launched an anti-British, anti-war campaign all over the country. When the British rulers found that the Forward Bloc was developing into a real menace to their war efforts, they struck a blow at the Bloc by throwing Subhas Bose and hundreds of his co-workers into prison in July 1940. The British had no intention of bringing him to trial. Subhas Bose was now convinced more than ever before that India would win her independence if she played her part in the war against Britain and collaborated with those powers that were fighting Britain. He arrived at the conclusion that India should now actively enter the field of international politics.

Subhas Bose had already been in British custody eleven times and he now felt that it would be a gross political blunder to rot in prison any more. He therefore gave an ultimatum to the British authorities at the end of November 1940 that there was no moral or legal justification for his detention and unless he was released immediately he would go on hunger-strike. At first the British pretended that they did not take him seriously but after the "fast unto death" had lasted a few days, they were really unnerved; not wanting his death on their hands, the British quietly set him free and kept a strict vigil on his movements. For some forty days Subhas Bose did not stir out of his house or even out of his bed-room. And then, one morning in the third week of January 1941, all India was thrilled to hear that Subhas

Bose had escaped the British surveillance and disappeared from his Calcutta home. The next that India and the world heard about Subhas was when he himself began speaking on the radio from Germany in November 1941, nine months after his disappearance from India.

* * *

THE DARING plans of the escape and the hardships and risks that Subhas underwent from the moment he left his Calcutta home at dead of night in the garb of a Muslim divine, his incognito travel by rail up to Peshawar and then on by road to Kabul, the suspense and tension of the waiting there before the Italian Embassy arranged his journey to Berlin via Moscow—these add up to a thrilling drama which has been graphically described by his Kabul host, Uttam Chand, in his monograph entitled *When Bose was Ziauddin*.

When Subhas Bose reached Germany in his quest for foreign armed assistance to dislodge the British from India, Herr Hitler was at the height of his power. It was no easy task for Subhas to persuade Germany to treat him as a top-ranking representative of the Indian nation and extend to him the facilities to collect an army to fight for India's independence. He ultimately won the Hitler regime's respect for his firm determination to liberate his country from the British yoke by taking the aid of Britain's enemies without any strings attached. He had to overcome formidable obstacles before he could accomplish the formation of the first Azad Hind Fauj (Free India Army) on German soil from the Indian prisoners of war brought to Germany from various European and Middle East war theatres. This was the beginning of the realization of his dream of winning India's freedom through an armed fight against the British. The story of this heroic effort of Subhas Bose to draw the sword against the British, who were holding India in slavery by the sword, is narrated in fascinating detail by N. G. Ganpuley in his book *Netaji in Germany, A Little Known Chapter*. Even during the course of the war, Herr Hitler talked of coming to terms with England. It was, therefore, doubly difficult for Subhas Bose to change this attitude of Herr Hitler into a friendly gesture towards India which was engaged in a fight against England for her own freedom. However, with the enthusiastic and self-sacrificing services of Indians still residing in Central Europe, and with the steadily growing co-operation of the Hitler regime, Subhas Bose succeeded in putting out regular and uncensored broadcasts over the German radio stations directed to India, establishing a Free India Centre, and organizing an Indian Legion. The first Free India organization was thus born on German soil in 1941, and the Indian civilians and soldiers

who rallied to the cause of their country's freedom under the banner of Subhas Chandra Bose spontaneously acclaimed him as their Neta (leader) and addressed him ever since as "Netaji".

It was one thing to form a Free India Army in Germany in war-time, but it was a totally different, if not utterly impossible, proposition to take that army all the way from Europe up to the north-western gates of India to fight the British entrenched inside India.

His golden opportunity came in December 1941 when the World War spread to the Pacific and Japan was also ranged against Britain. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose immediately set about drawing up plans to reach East Asia and there to raise a Free India Army from among the large Indian communities in Malaya, Singapore. Burma and other regions of East Asia. If only the active and enthusiastic co-operation of the Japanese, Burmese and other war-time governments in East Asia was assured, it would be a much easier task to lead a free India army massed on the Burma border to launch an attack on the British forces on the other side of the Indian border and roll them back in Bengal and Assam. Such a spectacular achievement by an Indian Army of Liberation on the Bengal and Assam borders, he calculated, would lead to a countrywide uprising against the British regime.

Within hours of the outbreak of hostilities in the Pacific region. Rash Behari Bose, the veteran Indian revolutionary who had been in political exile in Japan for thirty long years, appealed over the radio to Indians throughout East Asia to form Indian Independence Leagues with the sole object of fighting for their motherland's liberation from the British yoke.

In February 1942, Singapore fell to the Japanese forces; the British abandoned the Indian soldiers they had taken all the way from India to defend their colonial possessions in Malaya and Singapore. By the terms of their surrender they handed over to the Japanese military authorities some 20,000 Indian soldiers and officers as prisoners of war. The Japanese in turn told the Indian prisoners of war that they were being handed over to "General Officer Commanding Captain Mohan Singh who shall have powers of life and death over you". This was the genesis of the Indian National Army which later attracted thousands of civilian Indian youths in East Asia, and enabled Netaji in course of time to raise no fewer than three combatant divisions totalling over 30,000 men under arms.

In June 1942, Rash Behari Bose presided at a historic meeting of representative Indians from all over East Asia, assembled at Bangkok, which invited Netaji Subhas Bose to come over from Germany to East Asia and assume the leadership of the Indian Independence Movement.

The die was cast. Netaji decided to risk everything including his

very life to reach East Asia in response to the urgent summons of his countrymen. His perilous 90-day submarine voyage from Germany through enemy-infested waters round the British Isles, round Africa, across the Indian ocean, to Sumatra and Penang, and from there by air to Japan, and ultimately to Singapore, is another glorious chapter in the history of India's struggle for freedom. Reaching Japan in June 1943, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose lost no time in entering into parleys with the Japanese Prime Minister, General Tojo, and his top-ranking military advisers to enlist their aid for his well thought out plans to free his motherland. After receiving their solemn assurances of unstinted support to the Indian Independence Movement with arms and equipment, Netaji revealed his presence in Japan by a personal broadcast over the Tokyo Radio in which he addressed himself to Indians in East Asia and to Indians inside India.

Indians in East Asia were delirious with joy at the imminent prospect of the intrepid fighter taking over the Indian freedom movement in Singapore and leading the Indian National Army across the Burma border for the assault on the British citadel in India.

Netaji Bose flew from Japan and landed at Sngapore on July 2, 1943. Two days later, in the presence of Indian Independence League delegates from all over East Asia, Rash Behari Bose handed over the leadership of the Movement to the younger Bose in a memorable speech. In his reply, accepting this onerous responsibility, Netaji hinted that he would in the near future form a provisional Government of Free India under whose leadership India's Army of Liberation would march against the alien regime in the motherland.

The next day Netaji in the khaki uniform of Supreme Commander of the Indian National Army, reviewed the serried ranks drawn up in formation on the spacious maidan opposite the Singapore Town Hall. For the first time, he gave this army of liberation the war-cry of "Chalo Delhi" ("On to Delhi"), and he gave the assembled civilians the slogan of "Total Mobilization". He then went on a whirlwind tour of Malaya, Thailand, Burma and French Indo-China to rouse Indians there to come forward and sacrifice their all, including their lives, in the final battle for India's freedom. The response was overwhelming wherever he went. In short, Indians in East Asia went freedom-mad.

Netaji then reorganized the Indian Independence League Headquarters and expanded its activities. The departments already functioning at the League Headquarters were: General Finance, Publicity, Intelligence, and Recruitment and Training. Netaji strengthened these departments and added the following: (1) Head an Social Welfare; (2) Women's Affairs; (3) National Education and Culture; (4) Reconstruction; (5) Supply; (6) Overseas; and (7) Housing and Transport.

Dr. Lakshmi Swaminathan, who later became Commandant of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment and a Colonel of the INA, was placed in charge of the Women's Department. Instructions were issued to strengthen the League branches throughout East Asia on the above lines.

Netaji divided his time between the League Headquarters and the Headquarters of the Supreme Command of the INA.

When he was satisfied that the INA had been thoroughly organized, and that Indians in East Asia were offering a splendid response to his call for total mobilization, he took the next logical step of establishing the Provisional Government of Free India outside India, in Singapore, on the historic 21st of October, 1943, that is, less than four brief months after he took over the leadership of the movement in East Asia.

Events then started moving with cyclonic speed.

The next day, he opened the Rani of Jhansi Regiment Camp in Singapore, to which flocked hundreds of exuberant Indian women and girls who abandoned their sheltered existence to join the ranks of freedom fighters. They were given the most intensive military training, including rifle and bayonet-charge practice.

The following night the Provisional Government of Azad Hind declared war on Britain and America A few hours later, Netaji addressed a mammoth rally of Indians, civilians and soldiers, and took a solemn pledge from them that they would sacrifice their all in waging the war for the liberation of India.

In a few days, nine countries—Japan, Germany, Italy, Croatia, Burma, Thailand, National China, the Philippines and Manchuria—accorded their recognition to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind.

A week after forming the Provisional Government, Netaji flew to Tokyo where he attended the Greater East Asia Conference in the first week of November, and was received by the Emperor of Japan with all the honours due to the Head of the State and of the Provisional Government of Free India.

At the Greater East Asia Conference, Premier Tojo of Japan announced on 6th November that Japan had decided to hand over the Andaman and Nicobar Islands to the Provisional Government, which thus acquired its first stretch of territory of Free India.

Returning to Singapore towards the end of December, Netaji left for the Andamans where he set foot on Free India territory on 31st December, 1943. In the meanwhile the Provisional Government had decided to rename the Andaman and Nicobar Islands as the Shaheed (Martyrs) and Swaraj (Independence) Islands.

Before leaving for the Andamans, Netaji appointed a committee to make recommendations for the national unification of Indians in

East Asia in matters of language, dress, food, greeting, emblem and ceremonies. He attached the greatest importance to this aspect of constructive work with a view to bringing about abiding unity in the Indian nation.

From the Andamans, Netaji flew to Burma *via* Bangkok and established the Headquarters of the Provisional Government, the Indian Independence League and the INA Supreme Command in Rangoon. There were now two Headquarters, the one in Rangoon, and the Rear Headquarters in Singapore.

Burma having a frontier with India, which the INA had sworn to cross at all costs in order to give battle to the British on Indian soil and expel them from there, Netaji still further intensified his efforts night and day to convert the new Headquarters into a base of operations. He could not rest until he ensured that the Burma base had become a springboard from which to jump at the throat of the enemy in India.

Then came the dramatic announcement of the firing of the first shot by the INA in the Second War of India's Independence when it opened a campaign on the Arakan front on 4th February, 1944, and fought a successful action.

The 18th of March, 1944, will ever remain a Red Letter Day in the annals of the INA for on that historic day the INA crossed the Burma border and, for the first time, stood on the sacred soil of India. This momentous news was given to East Asia, to India and to the world by Netaji in a proclamation that he issued on the 21st of March, 1944.

The 21st of every month had become a sacred day for Indians in East Asia as the day on which, in October 1943, the Provisional Government of Free India was established in Singapore.

Thus within nine months of his arrival in Singapore, Netaji had reorganized the INA and moved it from Malaya *via* Thailand and Burma up to the Indian border and had actually led it across the frontier and brought it to Indian soil—an astounding feat even for Netaji.

Between the time he shifted his Headquarters to Rangoon and the INA's historic crossing of the Burma-India border, Netaji had put through a gigantic expansion of the Indian Independence League; he also expanded the Provisional Government by creating the portfolios of Supply, Manpower and Revenue.

Twelve more departments were added to the League Headquarters to cope with the phenomenal increase in its activities as the channel for the execution of the Provisional Government's programme of Total Mobilization of money, materials and manpower.

A Rani of Jhansi Regiment Camp was opened in Rangoon, and Camps were opened all over East Asia for the speedy training of

Indian civilian youths. These Camps turned out soldiers by the thousands after intensive military training.

Netaji established the first National Bank of Azad Hind in Rangoon on the 5th of April, 1944, and the same day he left for the fighting front and moved his headquarters nearer the firing line. This time he took with him a contingent of fully trained and equipped Ranis of Jhansi.

Meanwhile, the INA was fighting freedom's battle on eight sectors of the Burma-India border, on the plains of Imphal and in the neighbourhood of Kohima. In a matter of hours news was expected of the fall of Imphal to India's Army of Liberation. This would have meant the death-knell of the British Empire in India.

But fate willed otherwise; the liberation forces were halted within three miles of Imphal. They lacked air cover while the enemy, in a desperate last-ditch stand, poured reinforcements into Imphal by air. Lord Mountbatten had ordered the defence of Imphal at all costs. The torrential rains of Burma submerged the INA supply lines.

The INA was ordered to withdraw, but only to prepare for the next attack on Imphal.

This debacle happened in June-July 1944; the wounded and dying heroes, many in tatters and many more suffering from acute malaria and dysentery, began trekking back to Mandalay and Rangoon.

Preparations for the next attack on Imphal absorbed the energy and time of the INA as well as the civilians who came forward with renewed enthusiasm to increase their war effort ten-fold.

All the same, the tide steadily turned against the Liberation Army. By sheer superiority in air support and mechanized equipment, the enemy was relentlessly smashing his way through to Meikhtila and heading towards Pyinmana and, of course, ultimately onward to Rangoon.

When it was realized that it would be too much of a risk if Netaji continued to stay on in Rangoon, members of the Cabinet of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind persuaded him to leave and to continue the fight from elsewhere.

The memorable retreat began on April 24, 1945. A convoy of lorries carrying some of the Cabinet Ministers, INA Commanders and Ranis of Jhansi, headed by Netaji in his car, left Rangoon that night in bright moonlight. It was three weeks before Netaji and party reached Bangkok. The three weeks were packed with forced marches, blistered feet, hunger, thirst, hairbreadth escapes from enemy fighters and bombers, and perilous crossings of big rivers.

At long last Netaji and party reached Bangkok in mid-May, 1945 a week after the surrender of Germany to the Allied Forces.

Japan, however, continued to fight.

Netaji went into marathon sessions with his Ministers, drawing up plans for the continuance of the INA's fight against the British.

At this stage, in June 1945, news came through that the British Viceroy in India, Lord Wavell, was trying to persuade Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress to give up opposition and to co-operate in Britain's war effort in return for the inclusion of more Indians in the Viceroy's Executive Council.

With his characteristic open-mindedness Mahatma Gandhi was willing to explore all possibilities of ending the conflict between the alien Government and the Congress representing the Indian nation. At a later stage Mahatma Gandhi withdrew from the scene and left it to the President of the Congress, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, advised by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, to speak for the Congress at the Simla Conference in June-July 1945.

On hearing about the Wavell offer, Netaji flew from Bangkok to Singapore on June 18 and addressed himself over the Radio to the Congress leaders night after night for nearly a month, imploring them, with all the earnestness he could command, not to accept the Wavell offer. His most important argument in support of his appeal to them to turn down the Wavell offer was that it was a typical British stratagem to keep the Indian question a domestic issue of the British Empire. Further, the Conservative Government then in office wished to "settle" the Indian question before the next general elections in Britain which might perhaps put the Labour Party in power. Then there was the risk for the British imperialists that India might receive a better deal at the hands of Labour. By turning down the Wavell offer, the Congress could continue to keep the Indian struggle at the level of an international question. If, however, the Congress wished to arrive at a compromise with Britain it would be well to wait till the next British elections.

Netaji was overjoyed when he heard the news of the failure of the Simla Conference where the Congress finally rejected the Wavell offer.

He then left on a tour of Malaya and was camping in Seramban when he learnt that Russia had declared war on Japan; this was soon followed by a midnight visit of certain League officials from Singapore to Netaji's camp on August 11 with the news that Japan had surrendered.

This was the darkest hour for the INA, for it would be futile for the INA to go alone in the war any longer. If the Japanese were going to lay down their arms throughout East Asia, it would be worse than suicidal for the INA to continue the fight.

The INA would not surrender; it need not surrender, but it could not continue the fight any more; it had to cease fighting.

In the military sense, therefore, the INA failed—but only in the

military sense. Because it had already covered itself with immortal glory wherever it fought. The unparalleled sufferings and sacrifices of Netaji and the INA in the cause of India's freedom had evoked the respect and admiration of the Japanese, Chinese, Burmese, Thais, Malays, Filipinos, Indonesians and Vietnamese. The South East Asian nations who were under colonial rule at the outbreak of the Pacific War, and who then witnessed the flight of their rulers from the advancing Japanese forces, were stirred to the depths of their being by the spectacle of the revolutionary Indian Independence Movement and the patriotic Indian National Army under the dynamic leadership of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. The Burmese, the Malays, the Indonesians and the Vietnamese took a solemn pledge that they would be free for all time and would not allow their ex-rulers to return to their lands as rulers again after the war.

Netaji immediately dashed back to Singapore, and issued the most elaborate instructions to the civilian and army wings of the Provisional Government as to their future. And, in deference to the insistent wish of his Cabinet Ministers, he agreed at the very last moment to leave Singapore and move further east. If he was not to stay with his comrades in Singapore, to be taken prisoner by the British when they returned as victors, he was bent on contacting the Russians in Manchuria and pushing on to Moscow so that he might be free one day to carry on the war of India's liberation.

It was when he finally agreed to leave Singapore and fly to Bangkok that he said he was a fatalist—meaning that events would take their preordained course. He did not know at the moment what his plans would be after reaching Bangkok.

Japan's surrender was officially announced on August 15.

Accompanied by a small party of trusted lieutenants, Netaji flew from Singapore to Bangkok on August 16, then on to Saigon the next morning. Here he drew up certain plans for the future and left on his last-known flight the same evening. The only Indian who accompanied him on this flight from Saigon on August 17, 1945, was Colonel Habib-ur-Rahman, Deputy Chief of Staff of the INA. The other members of his party were left behind at Saigon for want of accommodation in the medium-sized bomber in which Netaji flew.

Five days later, on August 22, 1945, Tokyo Radio announced the death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in an aircrash in Formosa on August 18, 1945, *en route* to Japan.

Those whom Netaji had left behind in Saigon, including myself, were under the impression that he was headed for Dairen where he would cross over and contact the Russians.

The final scenes of the INA drama were laid in India where the famous Red Fort trials of Major-General Shah Nawaz Khan, Colonel

P. K. Sahgal and Colonel G. S. Dhillon, on the charge of waging war against the British King, roused the entire country to frenzied enthusiasm and touched off anti-British riots and a naval mutiny. Not long after, on the 15th of August, 1947, India became independent.

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's Government of free India in April 1956 appointed an official committee* of three comprising Major-General Shah Nawaz Khan of the INA (Chairman), Shri Suresh Chandra Bose, elder brother of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, and Shri S. N. Maitra, I.C.S., Chief Commissioner of Andaman and Nicobar Islands. The Committee was asked "to enquire into and to report to the Government of India on the circumstances concerning the departure of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose from Bangkok about the 16th August, 1945, his alleged death as a result of an aircraft accident, and subsequent developments connected therewith."

After examining 67 witnesses in Delhi, Calcutta, Bangkok, Saigon and Tokyo, General Shah Nawaz Khan and Shri Maitra came to the conclusion "that Netaji met his death in an aircrash, and that the ashes now at Renkoji temple, Tokyo, are his ashes." But Shri Suresh Chandra Bose has publicly disagreed with his two colleagues and categorically stated that the evidence collected by the Committee does not warrant the conclusion arrived at by his colleagues. Not only Shri Suresh Bose but other members of Netaji's family also believe that Netaji did not meet with his end in an aircrash in Formosa on August 18, 1945, and that the ashes kept in a temple in Tokyo are not Netaji's. In deference to the sentiments of Netaji's family, the Government of India has refrained from acting on the recommendations of General Shah Nawaz Khan and Shri Maitra that the ashes "be brought to India with due honour, and a memorial erected over them at a suitable place."

Inevitably, this biographical sketch of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose is inadequate and incomplete, as it is next to impossible to pack into a mere introduction a full narrative of his life and achievements. My only consolation is that I have tried, to the best of my ability, not to overlook the important events that shaped the course of his life. Any shortcomings in this introductory sketch would be undoubtedly eliminated by a perusal of the main contents of this book.

Those who wish to know more about Netaji's life and his role in India's struggle for freedom may profitably read *An Indian Pilgrim* (autobiography of Subhas Chandra Bose); *The Indian Struggle* by Subhas Chandra Bose (two volumes); *When Bose was Ziauddin* by Uttam Chand; *Netaji in Germany, A little known chapter* by N. G.

*Another Official Commission, with Mr. Justice G. D. Khosla as Chairman is re-examining the matter.

Ganpuley; *INA and its Netaji* by Major-General Shah Nawaz Khan; and *Unto Him A Witness* (being the story of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in East Asia) by the present writer.

My best thanks are due to my colleagues on the Advisory Committee constituted in connection with the publication of this book, for entrusting me with the task of scrutinizing the speeches and writing the biographical introduction. I must also specially thank the Publications Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting for their active co-operation in providing me with some of the necessary reference books, and in sending me promptly a copy of the speeches as and when they compiled them from different sources.

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S. A. AYER

PART I

VISION OF A FREE INDIA

FRIENDS, I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the high honour you have done me by requesting me to preside over the deliberations of the Sixth Session of the Maharashtra Provincial Conference. You are probably aware that I did not at first venture to accept the kind invitation, but by referring to the old relations between Bengal and Maharashtra some of my friends touched a most tender chord in my heart. The appeal then proved to be irresistible and every other consideration had to stand aside.

Before I proceed to place before you my view with regard to our present policy and programme, I would like to raise some fundamental problems and attempt to answer them. It is sometimes urged by foreigners that the new awakening in India is entirely an exotic product inspired by alien ideals and methods. This is by no means true. I do not for one moment dispute the fact that the impact of the West has helped to rouse us from intellectual and moral torpor. But that impact has restored self-consciousness to our people, and the movement that has resulted therefrom and which we witness today is a genuine Swadeshi movement. India has long passed through the traditional period of blind imitation—of reflex action, if you put it in psychological language. She has now recovered her own soul and is busy reconstructing her national movement along national lines and in the light of national ideals.

I agree with Sir Flinders Petrie that civilizations, like individuals grow and die in a cyclic fashion and that each civilization has a certain span of life vouchsafed to it. I also agree with him that, under certain conditions, it is possible for a particular civilization to be reborn after it has spent itself. When this rebirth is to take place, the vital impetus, the *elan vital,* comes not from without but from within. In this manner has Indian civilization been reborn over and over again at the end of each cycle, and that is why India in spite of her hoary antiquity is still young and fresh.

The charge has often been levelled against us that since democracy is an Occidental institution, India, by accepting democratic or semi-

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Presidential address at the Maharashtra Provincial Conference Poona, May 3, 1928.

democratic institutions, is being Westernized. Some European writers —Lord Ronaldshay for instance—go so far as to say that democracy is unsuited to the Oriental temparament and political advancement in India should not, therefore, be made in that direction Ignorance and effrontery could not go further. Democracy is by no means a Western institution; it is a human institution. Wherever man has attempted to evolve political institutions, he has hit upon this wonderful institution of democracy. The past history of India is replete with instances of democratic institutions. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in his wonderful book, *Hindu Polity*, has dealt with this matter at great length and has given a list of 81 republics in ancient India. The Indian languages are also rich in terminology required in connection with political institutions of an advanced type. Democratic institutions still exist in certain parts of India. Among the Khasis of Assam, for instance, it is still the custom to elect the ruling chief by a vote of the whole clan; and this custom has been handed down from time immemorial. The principle of democracy was also applied in India in the government of villages and towns. The other day while visiting the Varendra Research Society Museum at Rajshahi in North Bengal, I was shown a very interesting copper-plate inscription in which it was stated that civic administration in the good old days was vested in a committee of five, including the Nagar Sreshthi (*i.e.* our modern Mayor). With regard to village self-government, it is not necessary to remind an Indian audience about the village Panchayats—democratic institutions handed down to us from days of yore. Not only democratic but other socio-political doctrines of an advanced character were not unknown to India in the past.

Communism, for instance, is not a Western institution. Among the Khasis of Assam, to whom I have referred, private property as an institution does not exist in theory even today. The clan as a whole owns the entire land. I am sure that similar instances can still be found in other parts of India and also in the past history of our country.

I think it necessary at this stage to warn my countrymen, and my young friends in particular, about the attack that is being made on nationalism from more than one quarter. From the point of view of cultural internationalism, nationalism is sometimes assailed as narrow, selfish and aggressive. It is also regarded as a hindrance to the promotion of internationalism in the domain of culture. My reply to the charge is that Indian nationalism is neither narrow, nor selfish, nor aggressive. It is inspired by the highest ideals of the human race, *viz.*, Satyam (the true), Shivam (the good), Sundaram (the beautiful). Nationalism in India has instilled into us truthfulness, honesty, manliness and the spirit of service and sacrifice. What is more, it has

roused the creative faculties which for centuries had been lying dormant in our people and, as a result, we are experiencing a renaissance in the domain of Indian art.

Another attack is being made on nationalism from the point of view of international labour or international Communism. This attack is not only ill-advised but unconsciously serves the interests of our alien rulers. It would be clear to the man in the street that before we can endeavour to reconstruct Indian society on a new basis, whether socialistic or otherwise, we should first secure the right to shape our own destiny. As long as India lies prostrate at the feet of Britain, that right will be denied to us. It is, therefore, the paramount duty not only of nationalists but anti-nationalistic Communists to bring about the political emancipation of India as early as possible

I have already hinted that I plead for a coalition between labour and nationalism (I am using 'labour' here in a wider sense to include the peasants as well) It has to be admitted that though we have passed resolutions from the Congress platform time and again regarding the desirability of organising labour, much has not been achieved in that direction.

If we view the programme of the Congress during the last few years we shall find that only in our Khadi programme have we been able to offer to our masses something which means bread and butter to them. Khadi, I am glad to say, has brought food to thousands and thousands of hungry mouths all over India. Given money and organization, there is plenty of scope for pushing on Khadi. There are lakhs and lakhs of poor Indians living on the verge of starvation to whom Khadi can offer a means of subsistence. But the appeal of Khadi cannot be universal. We find from bitter experience in some parts of Bengal that as soon as the masses are a little better off, their Charkhas lie idle and that the peasant who gets a better return from paddy or jute cultivation refuses to cultivate cotton.

Except when Congressmen have joined the Kisan movement, as in the U.P., or have taken up the question of jute cultivation, as in Bengal, or have undertaken a campaign for non-payment of taxes in order to resist illegal taxation or oppressive legislation, as in Gujarat, we have seldom been able to make a direct appeal to the economic interests of the masses. And until this is done—human nature being what it is—how can we expect the masses to join the freedom movement?

There is another reason why I consider it imperative that the Congress should be more alive to the interests of the masses. Mass consciousness has been roused in India, thanks to the extensive and intensive propaganda undertaken during the non-co-operation movement; and the mass movement cannot possibly be checked now. The

only question is along what lines this mass consciousness should manifest itself. If the Congress neglects the masses it is inevitable that a sectional—and if I may say so, anti-national—movement will come into existence and class war among our people will appear even before we have achieved our political emancipation. It would be disastrous in the highest degree if we were to launch class war while we are all bed-fellows in slavery, in order that we may afford amusement to the common enemy. I regret to say that there is at present a tendency among some Indian labourites to belittle the Congress and to condemn the Congress programme. This recrimination should cease and the organized forces of labour and of the Congress should join hands for furthering the economic interests of the masses and promoting the cause of India's political emancipation.

Friends, you will pardon me if for one moment I ask you to lift your eyes from the realities of the present and attempt to scan the future that looms before us. It is desirable that we should search our hearts in order to find out what it is that we are running after, so that we and our succeeding generations may grow up in the light of that ideal and shape our course of action accordingly.

Speaking for myself, I stand for an independent Federal Republic. That is the ultimate goal which I have before me. India must fulfil her own destiny and cannot be content with colonial self-government or Dominion Home Rule. Why must we remain within the British Empire? India is rich in resources, human and material. She has outgrown the infancy which foreigners have been thrusting upon her, and can not only take care of herself but can function as an independent unit. India is not Canada or Australia or South Africa. Indians are an Oriental people, a coloured race, and there is nothing in common between India and Great Britain from which we may be led to think that Dominion Home Rule within the British Empire is a desirable consummation for India. Rather, India stands to lose by remaining within the Empire. Having been under British domination so long, it may be difficult for Indians to get rid of the inferiority complex in their relations with England. It may also be difficult to resist British exploitation so long as we remain an integral part of the British Empire.

The usual argument that India without the help of Britain cannot defend herself is puerile. It is the Indian army—much more than the British army—which is defending India today. If India is strong enough to fight the battles of England outside her borders—in Tibet, China, Mesopotamia, Persia, Egypt and Flanders—she is certainly strong enough to defend herself from foreign aggression. Moreover, once India is able to free herself, the balance of power in the world will save India, as it has saved China. And if the League of Nations

becomes a living organization with some sanction behind it, invasion and aggression will be a thing of the past.

While striving to attain liberty we have to note all its implications. You cannot free one half of your soul and keep the other half in bondage. You cannot introduce a light into a room and expect at the same time that some portion of it will remain dark. You cannot establish political democracy and endeavour at the same time to resist the democratization of the society. No, my friends, let us not become a queer mixture of political democrats and social conservatives. Political institutions grow out of the social life of the people and are shaped by their social ideas and ideals. If we want to make India really great we must build up a political democracy on the pedestal of a democratic society. Privileges based on birth, caste or creed should go, and equal opportunities should be thrown open to all irrespective of caste, creed or religion. The status of women should also be raised and women should be trained to take a larger and a more intelligent interest in public affairs.

While I do not condemn any patch-up work that may be necessary for healing communal sores, I would urge the necessity of discovering a deeper remedy for our communal troubles. It is necessary for the different religious groups to be acquainted with the traditions, ideals and history of one another, because cultural intimacy will pave the way towards communal peace and harmony. I venture to think that the fundamental basis of political unity between different communities lies in cultural rapproachement. As things stand today, the different communities inhabiting India are too exclusive.

In order to facilitate cultural rapprochement a dose of secular and scientific training is necessary. Fanaticism is the greatest thorn in the path of cultural intimacy, and there is no better remedy for fanaticism than secular and scientific education. This sort of education is useful in another way, in that it helps to rouse our economic consciousness. The dawn of economic consciousness spells the death of fanaticism. There is much more in common between a Hindu peasant and a Muslim peasant than between a Muslim peasant and a Muslim zamindar. The masses have only got to be educated wherein their economic interests be, and once they understand it, they will no longer consent to be pawns in communal feuds. By working from the cultural, educational and economic side, we can gradually undermine fanaticism and thereby render possible the growth of healthy nationalism in this country.

One of the most hopeful signs of the time is the awakening among the youth of this country. The movement has spread from one end of the country to the other end, as far as I am aware, has attracted not only young men but young women as well. The youth of this

age have become self-conscious; they have been inspired by an ideal and are anxious to follow the call of their inner nature and fulfil their destiny. The movement is the spontaneous self-expression of the national soul, and on the course of this movement depends the nation's future weal. Our duty, therefore, is not to attempt to crush this new-born spirit but to lend it our support and guidance.

Friends! I would implore you to assist in the awakening of youth and in the organization of the youth movement. Self-conscious youth will not only act, but will also dream; will not only destroy, but will also build. It will succeed where even you may fail; it will create for you a new India—and a free India—out of the failures, trials and experience of the past. And, believe me, if we are to rid India once for all of the canker of communalism and fanaticism, we have to begin work among our youth.

There is another aspect of our movement which has been somewhat neglected in this country—the women's movement. It is impossible for one-half of the nation to win liberty without the active sympathy and support of the other half. In all countries—and even in the Labour Party in England—women's organizations have rendered invaluable service. There are various non-political organizations among women in different parts of the country, but I venture to think that there is room for a country-wide political organization among them. It should be the primary object of this organization, which will be run by women alone, to carry on political propaganda among their sex and to help the work of the Indian National Congress.

Our benign rulers and our self-appointed advisers are in the habit of lecturing day after day on our unfitness for Swaraj. Some say that we must have more education before we can hope to be free; others maintain that social reform should precede political reform; still others urge that without industrial development India cannot be fit for Swaraj. None of these statements is true. Indeed it would be far more true to say that without political freedom—i.e., without the power to shape our own destiny—we cannot have either compulsory free education or social reform or industrial advancement. If you demand education for your people as Shri Gokhale did long ago, the plea is put forward by Government that there is no money. If you introduce social legislation for the advancement of your countrymen, you find Miss Mayo's cousins on this side of the Atlantic arrayed against you and on the side of your social die-hards. When you are working yourself to death in order to bring about the economic and industrial regeneration of India you find to your infinite regret and surprise that your Imperial Banks, your Railways and your Stores Departments are least inclined to help your national enterprises. You pass resolutions in your Municipalities and in your Councils in favour

of Prohibition and you find that the Government meets you with a stonewall of indifference or hostility. I have no doubt in my own mind that Swaraj and Swaraj alone is the sovereign remedy for all our ills. And the only criterion of our fitness for Swaraj is the will to be free.

How to rouse the national will within the shortest possible period is, then, the problem before us; our policies and programmes have to be drawn up with a view to this end. The Congress policy since 1921 has been a dual policy of destruction and obstruction; of opposition and consolidation. We feel that the bureaucracy has entrenched itself in this country by erecting a network of organizations and institutions and by appointing a hierarchy of officials to run them. These are the seats of bureaucratic power and through them the bureaucracy has a grip on the very heart of the people. We have to storm these citadels of power and for that purpose we have to set up parallel institutions. These parallel organizations are our Congress offices. As our power and influence increase through the organization of Congress Committees, we shall be able to capture the bureaucratic seats of power. We know from personal experience that in districts where Congress Committees are well organized, the capture of local bodies has been possible without any difficulty. The Congress offices are, therefore, the forts where we have to entrench ourselves and whence we have to stir out every day in order to raid the bureaucratic citadels. Congress Committees are our army, and no plan of campaign, however skilfully devised, can succeed unless we have a strong, efficient and disciplined army at our command.

Friends! You will remember that when, after the Gaya Congress of 1922, there was a tendency among a large section of our countrymen to concentrate wholly on the constructive programme to the exclusion of everything else. Deshbandhu Das pointed out in the manifesto of the Swaraj Party that it was absolutely necessary to keep up a spirit of resistance to the bureaucracy. He firmly believed that without an atmosphere of opposition it was not possible to push on the constructive programme or to achieve success in any other direction. But this basic principle we often seem to forget. "Non-co-operation is barren" —"opposition has failed"—"obstruction is fruitless"—these are catchwords which mislead the unwary public. The most tragic element in our character is that we do not look ahead; we are easily upset by failures. We lack the dogged tenacity of John Bull, and unlike him, we cannot therefore fight a long-lasting game.

I have often been asked how the end will come, how the bureaucracy will ultimately be forced to accede to our terms. I have no misgivings in this matter for I have already had a foretaste of what will come. The movement will reach its climax in a sort of

general strike or country-wide hartal coupled with a boycott of British goods Along with the strike or hartal to bring about which labour and the National Congress will heartily co-operate, there will be some form of civil disobedience because the bureaucracy is not likely to sit idle while a strike is going on. It is also possible that there may be non-payment of taxes in some form or other, but this is not essential. When the crisis is reached the average Britisher at home will feel that to starve India politically means economic starvation for him. And the bureaucracy in India will find that it is impossible to carry on the administration in the face of a country-wide non-co-operation movement. The jails will be full as in 1921, and there will be general demoralization within the ranks of the bureaucracy, who will no longer be able to count upon the loyalty and devotion of their servants and employees. There will be a paralysis of the administration and possibly of foreign trade and commerce. The bureaucracy will consider the situation as chaotic but, from the point of view of the people, the country will be organized, disciplined and determined. The bureaucracy will then be forced to yield to the demands of the people's representatives, for saving themselves from unnecessary trouble and anxiety and for restoring their trade with India.

Our immediate task is among other things to make the boycott of the Simon Commission complete and effective. We, Congressmen, have never accepted the pernicious preamble to the Government of India Act, 1919. This Act has been forced down our throats but we have never owed willing allegiance to it; in fact we have tried our level best to non-co-operate with it. We take our stand on the sacred and inviolable rights of men, and the principle of self-determination. We maintain that it is for India to frame her own constitution according to her needs, and it is for Britain to accept it *in toto*. This procedure has been followed not only in the case of countries that have won back their independence but in the case of the self-governing dominions within the British Empire including the Irish Free State.

The counterpart of this boycott, in fact its positive aspect, is the framing of a national constitution The All Parties' Conference has taken this matter in hand and all lovers of India should wish the Conference complete success. The Secretary of State for India has in a fit of prompous pride challenged India to produce an agreed constitution. If there is a spark of honour and self-respect left in us, we should take up the gauntlet and give a fitting reply by producing a constitution.

I shall not tire you with any details of the constitution that should be drafted. I shall leave that task to our constitution framers and shall content myself by referring to three cardinal points. These three

points are as follows:

(1) The Constitution should guarantee national sovereignty, *i.e.*, the sovereignty of the people. What we want is government of the people, by the people and for the people.

(2) The constitution should be prefaced by a 'declaration of rights' which will guarantee the elementary rights of citizenship. Without a 'declaration of rights' a constitution is not worth the paper it is written on. Repressive laws, ordinances and regulations should be unknown in a free India.

(3) There should be a system of joint electorate. As a temporary arrangement, there may be reservation of seats if that is found necessary. But we should by all means insist on a joint electorate. Nationalism and separate electorates are self-contradictory. Separate electorates are wrong in principle and it is futile to attempt to build up a nation on a bad principle. We have had a bitter experience of separate electorates, and the sooner we get rid of them the better for us and for our country.

In order to enforce our national demand, it is necessary to take such steps as lie in our power, because a mere appeal to the sweet reasonableness of Britishers will be of no avail. Weak and unarmed though we are, Providence has in His mercy given us a weapon which we can use with great effect. This weapon is economic boycott, *i.e.*, boycott of British goods. It has been used with great effect in Ireland and in China. It was also used to great advantage during the Swadeshi movement nearly 20 years ago and partly during the non-co-operation movement. Boycott of British goods is necessary for the revival of Swadeshi and for effecting our political salvation.

It is also necessary that, while the political fight is going on, some of us should take up the work of village reorganization. In a vast country like ours there is room for a variety of talent, and scope for diversity of temperament.

We must all be pained to notice that our masses, and particularly our labourers, are at present passing through a severe economic crisis. Drastic retrenchment is going on in the different Railways, and particularly in the railway workshops. I understand that several crores worth of railway materials are imported from Great Britain for our Railways whereas these could easily be manufactured in India if the workshops were extended. If an attempt were made to manufacture these goods in India, far from retrenching the existing labour staff, the administration would be able to provide employment for many more. But here again the interests of the Britishers and their industry have to be safeguarded at the cost of poor India.

It is the bounden duty of all Indians, and of Congressmen in

particular, to come to the aid of labour in their hour of trial. Let us try and help them with all the means at our disposal.

Friends ! We have reached a most critical stage in our nation's history and it behoves us to unite all our forces and make a bold stand against the powers that be. Let us all stand shoulder to shoulder and say with one heart and with one voice that our motto is, as Tennyson said through Ulysses, "To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield."

AGAINST DOMINION STATUS

I AM Sorry that I have to rise to move an amendment to a resolution moved by Mahatma Gandhi and which has the support of some, if not many, of our older leaders. The fact that I rise today to move the amendment is a clear indication of a cleavage, the fundamental cleavage between the elder school and the new school of thought in the Congress.

I have been asked by some friends why, being a signatory to the Nehru Report, I have stood up to speak for independence. I would only refer to the statement made in the report itself that the principles of the constitution which we submitted in the report can be applied in all their entirety to a constitution of independence. I do not think that in moving this amendment my action can be construed as in any way inconsistent.

There is another matter to which I shall refer by way of personal explanation. You are aware that in private conversations and elsewhere I have said that I do not desire to stand in the way of elder leaders. The reason why I did so was that at that time I did not feel prepared to accept the responsibility of the consequences of a division in this House in case our amendment was accepted. Today I feel prepared to accept the consequences and to face the issue till the end if my amendment is accepted.

There are certain incidents which have made me somewhat alter my previous views. You are aware that the Bengal delegates, or at least the majority of them, assembled and resolved to have this amendment moved on their behalf and that they were prepared to accept the vote of the House, whatever the consequences might be. Even if I did not stand here today to move the amendment, I can assure you that some other members would have stood up to do so on their behalf.

There is another fact. And that is the decision of the Independence for India League, by an overwhelming majority, to support the amendment and to accept the vote of the House, whatever it might be.

We who feel it our duty to move or support the amendment feel very sincerely that the time is so momentous that India should express herself in a clear and unambiguous manner as to what she feels on the issue of Dominion Status *vs.* Independence. I have told our leaders that after the death of Lala Lajpat Rai and the happenings at Lucknow

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Speech at the Calcutta session of the Congress, December 1928, on the resolution which threatened a non-co-operation campaign for complete independence if Britain did not concede Dominion Status by the end of 1929.

and Kanpur and the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy, we would expect the Congress to take up a bold attitude, which would fit in with an attitude of self-respect. Instead of that, we find that the Madras Resolution is to be lowered in some measure.

We feel and we say that we are not prepared to lower the flag of Independence even for one single day.' Whether we win or lose in this House does not concern us. It is not a matter of concern so far as the younger generation are concerned, for they have accepted the responsibility of making India free. We want our leaders, we love them, we revere them, but at the same time we want them to keep abreast of the times. I have also told them that I and Pandit Jawaharlal are regarded as moderates among the extremists, and if the elder leaders are not prepared to compromise even with these moderates, then the breach between the old and the new will be irreparable. A new consciousness has dawned upon the youth of the country. They are no longer prepared to follow blindfold. They have realised that they are the heirs of the future, that it is for them to make India free, and with this new consciousness they are preparing themselves for the arduous task that awaits them.

There is one other argument which appeals to me strongly. And that is the international situation. You should remember that after the Madras Resolution India has got a new status in international politics. I am afraid if this resolution is passed, then we shall lose at least a part, if not much, of the prestige that we have acquired after the Madras Congress. You may be aware that after that we have received messages from far and distant parts of the world. The question now is: are we to go back upon the decision we took at Madras? Or are we to go ahead? Are we to respond in a befitting manner to the attitude of the Government? And what has been that attitude? We have the lamentable death of Lalaji, and the regrettable happenings at Lucknow and Kanpur. After all these, do we not feel called upon to take up a defiant and bold attitude?

I should like to put one straight question. In the main resolution you have given twelve months' time to the British Government. Can you lay your hands on your breasts and say that there is a reasonable chance of getting Dominion Status within the period? Pandit Motilal has made it clear in his speech that he does not believe so. Then why should we lower the flag for these twelve months? Why not say we have lost the last vestige of faith in the British Government and that we are going to take a bold stand?

You may ask what we shall gain by this resolution of Independence. I say, we develop a new mentality. After all, what is the fundamental cause of our political degradation? It is a question of mentality, and if you want to overcome the slave mentality you do

so by encouraging our countrymen to stand for full and complete independence. I go further and say, assuming that we do not follow it up by action, that merely by preaching the gospel honestly and placing the goal of independence before our countrymen we shall bring up a new generation.

But I tell you we are not going to sit down with folded hands. I have already said that the younger generation realize their responsibility and they are prepared for their task. We shall devise our own programme and work it out according to the best of our ability so that there is no danger that our resolution will be thrown into the wastepaper basket.

There is another matter to which I shall refer before I sit down. All events show that another world war is imminent. I say this for many reasons. The first reason is that the causes which contribute to war are present in different parts of the world. The settlement brought about by the Treaty of Versailles has not satisfied the national aspirations of all people. It has not satisfied the people of Italy, the Balkans, Russia, Austria-Hungary and so on. Then there is the Asiatic situation. We have the combination of capitalistic countries against Soviet Russia. Again there is the race for armaments. These factors tend to a world war. I tell you that talk of disarmament is a huge farce. The fact is, all these countries which are free are working for another war. If India is to be on the alert, we must create a new mentality, a mentality that will say that we want complete independence. This can only be done by proclaiming the ideal in a clear and unequivocal manner.

I do not think we can afford to lose even a single moment. So far as Bengal is concerned, you are aware that since the dawn of the national movement in this country we have always interpreted freedom as complete-and full independence. We have never interpreted it in terms of dominion status. After so many of our countrymen laid down their lives, after our poets preached the gospel, we have understood freedom as full and complete independence. The talk of dominion status does not make the slightest appeal to our countrymen, to the younger generation who are growing up, and we should remember that after all it is the younger generation who are the heirs of the future.

In conclusion, I wish to make a final appeal. I do not think it will mean the slightest disrespect to our leaders if we accept the amendment. Respect and love, admiration and adoration for leaders, is one thing; but respect for principle is another thing. Accept my resolution, and inspire the younger generation with a new consciousness.

ROLE OF THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

ON BEHALF of the Reception Committee of the Third Session of the All-India Youth Congress, I accord you a most hearty welcome on your visit to this city of ours. The fact that the third session of the Congress is being held this year is an unmistakable indication of the growing vitality of the youth movement.

There is probably some apprehension that this year the proceedings of the All India Youth Congress may be somewhat over-shadowed by the deliberations of the Indian National Congress and of the All-Parties Convention. But nothing to my mind can detract from the intrinsic importance of a congregation like the Youth Congress. Without minimizing in any way the importance of political problems in our life, I would maintain that the problems of youth are vital problems; they have an importance of their own. And we who are members of the Republic of Youth attach great value and significance to them. I have no doubt that the deliberations of this Congress will be carried on with a sense of seriousness commensurate with the responsibility which has been cast on our shoulders. I have no doubt that this Congress will give a definite lead to the youth of this country on some of the most vital problems of our present-day life. I therefore consider it a privilege and an honour that I should be authorized by the Reception Committee to welcome you on such an important occasion.

If we cast our eyes beyond our frontiers and take a bird's eye-view of the march of world events, there is one outstanding phenomenon which greets us in every land: and that is the renaissance of youth. From North to South, from East to West, wherever we may happen to glance, the Youth Movement has become a reality. It is necessary for us to be clear in our own minds what the characteristics of the Youth Movement are, what are its mainsprings on the one side and its ultimate objective on the other.

Any association of young men or women does not deserve the designation of a youth association. A social service league or a famine relief society is not necessarily a youth association. A youth association is characterized by a feeling of dissatisfaction with the present order of things, and a desire for a better order accompanied by a vision of that order. Youth movements are not reformist in outlook but revolutionary. A feeling of restlessness, of impatience with

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Speech at the third session of the All-India Youth Congress, Calcutta, December 25, 1928.

the present order, must come into existence before any youth movement can start. Personally, I do not consider such a movement to be a twentieth-century phenomenon or an accidental phenomenon. From the time of Socrates and Buddha, men have been inspired by the vision of a better world and under that inspiration have endeavoured to reconstruct society. The youth movements of the modern age are characterized by a similar vision and a similar effort. Whether it is Bolshevism in Russia or Fascism in Italy or the Young Turk movement in Turkey, whether it is a movement in China or in Persia or in Germany, everywhere you will find the same impulse, vision and objective. Wherever the older generation of leaders have failed, youth have become self-conscious and have taken upon themselves the responsibility or reconstructing society and of guiding it on towards a better and nobler state of existence.

Friends, let us now come nearer home. It is not only the youths of Germany, Russia, Italy and China who are roused. Even in this land of lotus-eaters the awakening has come. I firmly believe that it is an awakening from within and not merely a ferment on the surface. The youth of India are no longer content with handing over all responsibility to their older leaders and sitting down with folded hands or following like dumb driven cattle. They have realized that it is for them to create a new India—free, great and powerful. They have accepted the responsibility, they have prepared themselves for the consequences, and they are now busy schooling themselves for the great task that awaits them. At this critical juncture, it is the duty of well-wishers of India to speak out fearlessly what they think of the movement or movements going on today. It has to be analysed critically, what defects there are have to be ruthlessly exposed and the entire movement has to be guided along healthy and fruitful channels.

As I look round me today, I am struck by two schools of thought about which it is my duty to speak out openly and fearlessly. I am referring to the two schools of thought which have their centres at Sabarmati and Pondicherry. I am not considering the fundamental philosophy underlying these two schools of thought. This is not the time for metaphysical speculation. I shall talk to you today as a pragmatist, as one who will judge the intrinsic value of any school of thought not from a metaphysical point of view but from experience of its actual effects and consequences.

The actual effect of the propaganda carried on by the Sabarmati school of thought is to create a feeling and an impression that modernism is bad, that large-scale production is an evil, that wants should not be increased, that the standard of living should not be raised, that we must endeavour to the best of our ability to go back

to the days of the bullock-cart, and that the soul is so important that physical culture and military training can well be ignored.

The actual effect of the propaganda carried on by the Pondicherry school of thought is to create a feeling and an impression that there is nothing higher or nobler than peaceful contemplation, that Yoga means *pranayama* and *dhyana*, that while action may be tolerated as good, this particular brand of Yoga is something higher and better This propaganda has led many a man to forget that spiritual progress under the present-day conditions is possible only by ceaseless and unselfish action, that the best way to conquer nature is to fight her, and it is weakness to seek refuge in contemplation when we are hemmed in on all sides by dangers and difficulties.

It is the passivism, not philosophic but actual, inculcated by these schools of thought against which I protest. In this holy land of ours Ashrams are not new institutions and ascetics and Yogis are not novel phenomena; they have held and they will continue to hold an honoured place in society. But it is not their lead that we shall have to follow if we are to create a new India, at once free, happy and great.

Friends, you will pardon me if in a fit of outspokeness I have trod on your sentiments. As I have just said, I do not for one moment consider the fundamental philosophy underlying the two schools of thought but the actual consequences from a pragmatic point of view. In India we want today a philosophy of activism. We must be inspired by robust optimism. We have to live in the present and to adapt ourselves to modern conditions.

We can no longer live in an isolated corner of the world. When India is free, she will have to fight her modern enemies with modern methods, both in the economic and in the political spheres. The days of the bullock-cart are gone and gone for ever The free world must prepare itself for any eventuality as long as the whole world does not accept whole-heartedly the policy of disarmament.

I am not one of those who in their zeal for modernism forget the glories of the past. We must take our stand on our past. India has a culture of her own which she must continue to develop along her own distinctive channels. In philosophy, literature, art and science we have something new to give to the world which the world eagerly awaits. In a word, we must arrive at a synthesis. Some of our best thinkers and workers are already engaged in this important task. We must resist the cry of "Back to the Vedas", on the one side, and on the other side the meaningless craze of modern Europe for fashion and change. It is difficult to restrict a living movement within proper bounds, but I believe that if the pioneers and the leaders of the movement are on the whole on the right track, things

will take proper shape in due time.

Friends, one word more and I have done. The present year is a landmark not only in the history of our political movement but also in the history of the Indian Youth Movement. I hope and pray that this session will give a bold and definite lead to the youth of this country. We are fortunate today in welcoming as our President one who needs no introduction to the youth of this country, Mr. Nariman of Bombay. Mr. Nariman may be more intimately known, loved and respected by youths in Western India, but it is also a fact that he is known, loved and respected by youths in other parts of the country as well. We have during the last few years followed his career an dactivity with the closest interest and it is a privilege for us to be able to welcome him in our midst. Under his able guidance and leadership, we shall have a most successful session.

THE MESSAGE OF BENGAL

BENGAL HAS a message of her own to deliver to the world. The message is the sum total of the life and history of Bengal as a whole; and as she tried in the past to make that message heard, she is doing it even now. That message is ingrained in the character of Bengal. The heart of Bengal is always for diversity, harmony and fraternity. Bengal is always for novelty. Bengal's innate nature is always dynamic and not static. She might well be called 'revolutionary'. From the Vedic age down to the present, history abounds with instances which show that she is always moving and assimilating.

Truth alone is our ideal and that explains why in spite of many inroads on Bengal in culture, civilization, literature and religion, she always assimilated the truth of the newcomers, keeping her individuality intact all the while. As a result of this thorough 'revolution' Vaishnavism has flourished in Bengal. Efforts in this direction are still going on, but to achieve success we must abolish the entire caste system, or convert all castes into Sudras or Brahmins. It should now be decided which of these means is to be adopted.

As in religion so in literature, Bengal has manifested herself in diverse ways. Her Vidyapati and Chandidas, Mukundaram and Bharatchandra, Kasiram, Krittibas and Ram Prasad stand as monumental examples of her new discoveries in the domain of thought and culture. Bengal does not forget the contribution made to her literature by the Mussalmans, and it was here that the indissoluble unity between the two communities was formed which has weathered many storms in the past. In a word Bengal as she is today is the child of universalism, irrespective of any caste and creed.

But a reaction set in for a time which received a rude shock as Bengal came in contact with Western civilization. True to her characteristics, Bengal woke up to make her contribution in the wake of the new movement inaugurated by Raja Ram Mohan Roy. The birth of the Brahmo cult saved Bengal from the attack made on her by the Christian missioneries. The unfinished work of the Raja found an impetus when Ramakrishna Paramahamsa and Swami Vivekananda came into the field towards the end of the 19th century. The renaissance of religion was reflected in her literature, philosophy and in all spheres of life, and Hindus and Mussalmans united to preach this gospel of brotherhood.

From presidential address at the Rangpur Political Conference, March 30, 1929.

It was Swami Vivekananda who gave a new turn to the history of Bengal. As he repeatedly said, man-making was his mission in life. In the work of man-making, Swami Vivekananda did not confine his attention to any particular sect but embraced the whole of society. His fiery words—"Let a new India emerge through the workshop and from the huts and bazaars"—are still ringing in every Bengali home.

This socialism did not derive its birth from the books of Karl Marx. It has its origin in the thought and culture of India. The gospel of democracy that was preached by Swami Vivekananda has manifested itself fully in the writings and achievements of Deshbandhu Das, who said that Narayan lives amongst those who till the land. prepare our bread by the sweat of their brow, those who in the midst of grinding poverty have kept the torch of our civilization, culture and religion burning.

The first step towards nation-building is the creation of true men and the second step is organization. Vivekananda and others tried to make men, while Deshbandhu tried to create political organization and he created an organization that extorted the admiration even of the Britishers.

New ideas of socialism are nowadays travelling to India from the West, and they are revolutionizing the thoughts of many, but the idea of socialism is not a novelty in this country. We regard it as such only because we have lost the thread of our own history. It is not proper to take any school of thought as unmistakable and absolute truth. We must not forget that the Russians, the main disciples of Karl Marx, have not blindly followed his ideas; finding it difficult to apply his theories they have adopted a new economic policy consistent with possession of private property and ownership of business factories. We have therefore to shape society and politics according to our own ideals and according to our needs. This should be the aim of every Indian.

We have now arrived at the third stage of our political struggle. The first stage was the Swadeshi era, the second was the period of revolutionaries and the third is the stage of non-co-operation and socialism Many might think that our efforts in the fight for Swaraj have gone in vain, but no useful attempt has ever failed. As a result of the last twenty-five years agitation, we have regained our self-respect and self-confidence. The country is gradually being organized and there is no power on earth that can deprive us of our birthright. The problem is only how soon we shall achieve it.

STUDENTS AND POLITICS

I THANK you from the very core of my heart for the warm and cordial welcome you have given me on the occasion of my first visit to the sacred land of the five rivers. I know how little I deserve the honour and the welcome which you have been pleased to accord me, and my only wish today is that I may be a little more worthy of the kindness and hospitality with which I have been greeted here.

You have summoned me from distant Calcutta to come and speak to you. Why have you summoned me of all persons? Is it because the East and the West should meet to solve their common problems? Is it because Bengal, which was the first to come under the foreign yoke, and the Punjab, which was the last to be enslaved, have need of each other? Or is it because you and I have something in common—sharing the same thoughts and cherishing the same aspirations? And what an irony of fate that you want me—once an expelled student of a sister university—to address a gathering of students at Lahore! Can you object if our elders complain that the time is out of joint, for strange persons and novel ideas now find favour with the world? If you have invited me with full knowledge of my past record, you ought really to be able to anticipate what I am going to say.

Friends! You will pardon me if at the very outset I take this opportunity of giving public utterance, however feeble it may be, to the feelings of gratitude that surge within me as I think of what the Punjab—and particularly the youth of the Punjab—has done for Jatindranath Das and his co-sufferers from Bengal during their stay in the Punjab jails. The arrangement for their defence, the extreme anxiety and solicitude felt for them as long as they were on hunger-strike, and the sympathy, affection and honour bestowed on Jatin during his lifetime and after, have stirred the heart of Bengal to its depths. Not content with what they had done at Lahore, prominent members of the Defence Committee travelled all the way to Calcutta to escort the mortal remains of the great martyr and hand them over to us there. We are an emotional people, and the largeness of your heart has endeared you to us to an indescribable degree. Bengal will ever remember with thankfulness and gratitude what the Punjab did for her in one of her darkest days.

One of your distinguished leaders was describing to us once

Presidential address at the Students' Conference held at Lahore, October 19, 1929.

in Calcutta, while referring to the great martyr, how the sun rose in the East and set in the West and how, after sunset, the moon rose in the West and travelled back to the East. Thus did Jatin live and die. From Calcutta to Lahore he travelled in life, and after death his mortal remains went back to Calcutta. They went back not as dead clay but as a symbol of something pure, noble and divine. Jatin today is not dead. He lives up in the heavens as a star of "purest ray serene" to serve as a beacon-light to posterity. He lives in his immortal sacrifice. He lives as a vision, as an ideal, as an emblem of what is purest and noblest in humanity.

And I believe that he has through his self-immolation not only roused the soul of India, but has also forged an indissoluble tie between the two provinces where he was born and where he died. I, therefore, envy your great city which has been the *tapasyakshetra* —the place of penance—of this modern Dadhichi.

As we are gradually approaching the dawn of freedom, our cup of suffering and sorrow is becoming full. It is but natural that our rulers, like despots elsewhere, should become more and more relentless as they find power gradually slipping out of their hands. And one should not be surprised if by and by they cast off all pretension to civilization and rid themselves of the mask of decency in order that the mailed fist may be used freely and without hesitation. Punjab and Bengal are at the present moment enjoying the largest doses of repression. This is indeed a matter for congratulation for we are thereby qualifying for Swaraj in an effective manner. The spirits of heroes like Bhagat Singh and Batukeswar Dutt cannot be cowed down by repression; on the contrary, it is through repression and suffering, through humiliation and sorrow, that heroes will be made. Let us, therefore, welcome repression with all our heart and make fullest use of it when it comes.

Little do you know how much Bengali literature has drawn from the earlier history of the Punjab in order to enrich itself and edify its readers. Tales of your heroes have been composed and sung by our great poets including Rabindranath Tagore, and some of them are today familiar in every Bengali home. Aphorisms of your saints have been translated into elegant Bengali and they afford solace and inspiration to millions in Bengal. This cultural contact has its counterpart in the political sphere and we find your political pilgrims meeting ours not only in the jails in India but also in the jails of distant Burma and in the wilds of the Andamans across the seas.

Friends! I shall make no apology if in this discourse I refer at length to political questions and endeavour to answer them. I know that there are people in this country—even eminent personages —who think that a subject race has no politics and that students in

particular should have nothing to do with politics. But my own view is that a subject race has nothing but politics. In a dependent country every problem that you can think of, when analysed properly, will be found to be at bottom a political problem. Life is one whole, as the late Deshbandhu C. R. Das used to say, and you cannot therefore separate politics from education. Human life cannot be split up into compartments.

I do not understand why a special ban should be imposed on participation in politics if no such ban is imposed on national work in general. I can understand a ban on all national work, but a ban merely on political work is meaningless. If, in a dependent country, all problems are fundamentally political problems, then all national activity is in reality political in character. There is no ban on participation in politics in any free country; on the contrary, students are encouraged to take part in politics. This encouragement is deliberately given, because out of the ranks of the students arise political thinkers and politicians. If, in India, students do not take active part in politics, from where are we to recruit our political workers and where are we to train them? Further, it has to be admitted that participation in politics is necessary for the development of character and manhood. Thought without action cannot suffice to build character, and for this reason participation in healthy activity—political, social or artistic—is necessary for developing character. Book-worms, gold-medalists and office clerks are not what universities should endeavour to produce, but men of character who will become great by achieving greatness for their country in different spheres of life.

One of the most encouraging signs of the times is the growth of a genuine students' movement all over India. This movement I consider to be a phase of the wider youth movement. There is a great deal of difference between a students' conference of today and those of the previous decade. The latter were generally held under official auspices and on the gateway appeared the motto, "Thou shall not talk about politics". These conferences should in a manner be compared with those sessions of the Indian National Congress in the earlier stages of its history, where the first resolution passed was one confirming our loyalty to the King-Emperor. We have fortunately outgrown that stage not only in the Indian National Congress but also in the students' movement. The students' conferences of today meet in a freer atmosphere, and those who participate in these conferences think and talk as they like, subject to the restriction imposed by the Indian Penal Code.

The youth movement of today is characterized by a feeling of restlessness, of impatience with the present order of things, and by

an intense desire to usher in a new and better era. A sense of responsibility and a spirit of self-reliance pervade this movement. Youths of the present day no longer feel content to hand over all responsibility to their elders. They rather feel that the country and the country's future belong more to them than to the elder generation. It is therefore their bounden duty to accept the fullest responsibility for the future of their country and to equip themselves for the proper discharge of that responsibility. The students' movement, being a phase of the larger youth movement, is inspired by the same outlook, psychology and purpose as the latter.

The students' movement of today is not a movement of irresponsible boys and girls. It is a movement of responsible, though young, men and women who are inspired with the one ideal of developing their character and personality and thereby rendering the most effective and useful service to the cause of their country. This movement has, or should have, two lines of activity. In the first place it should deal with the problems which relate exclusively to the student population of the day and endeavour to equip them for the battle of life. For this purpose it should give the student a foretaste of the problems and activities that are likely to confront him when he enters the arena of life.

The first aspect of the students' movement, to which I have just referred, may not in the ordinary course of things be looked upon with disfavour by the powers that be, though the other aspect of the movement is likely to be discouraged, condemned and even thwarted. It is not necessary for me to attempt to give a detailed programme of what you should undertake under the first head. That will depend partly on your own special needs and partly on the arrangements, if any, that are made by the educational authorities to fulfil those needs. Every student requires a strong and healthy physique and sound character and a brain full of useful information and healthy, dynamic ideas. If the arrangements provided by the authorities do not conduce to the proper growth of physique, character and intellect, you will have to provide facilities which will ensure that growth. And if the authorities welcome your efforts in this direction, all the better for you; but if they do not, leave them alone and go your own way. Your life is your own and the responsibility for developing it is after all yours, more than anybody else's.

In this connection there is one suggestion I have to offer. I wish our students' associations could start co-operative Swadeshi stores within their respective jurisdiction for the exclusive benefit of the student population. If these stores are run efficiently by the students themselves, they will serve a dual purpose. On the one hand, Swadeshi goods will be made available to the students at a cheap price, and

thereby home industries will be encouraged. On the other hand, students can acquire experience in running co-operative stores and can utilise the profits for advancing the welfare of the student community.

For advancing the cause of students' welfare, other items in your programme would be physical culture societies, gymnasiums, study circles, debating societies, magazine and music clubs, libraries and reading rooms, social service leagues, etc.

The other and probably more important aspect of the students' movement is the training of the future citizen. This training will be both intellectual and practical. We shall have to hold out before the students a vision of the ideal society which they should try to realize in their own lifetime. They should chalk out for themselves a programme of action which they should try to follow to the best of their ability, so that while performing their duties as students they may at the same time prepare themselves for their post-university career. It is in this sphere of activity that there is a likelihood of conflict with the authorities. Whether the conflict will actually arise or not depends largely on the attitude of the educational and governmental authorities. If the conflict does unfortunately arise, there is no help for it and students should once for all make up their minds to be absolutely fearless and self-reliant in the matter of preparing themselves, through thought and action, for their post-university career.

Before I proceed to give you my conception of the ideal that we should all cherish, I shall, with your permission, indulge in a digression which will not be altogether irrelevant. There is hardly any Asiatic today to whom the spectacle of Asia lying strangled at the feet of Europe does not cause pain and humiliation. But I want you to get rid of the idea, once for all, that Asia has always been in this stage. Europe may be the top dog today but time was when Asia was the top dog. History tells us how, in days of old, Asia conquered and held sway over a large portion of Europe, and those days Europe was mightily afraid of Asia. The tables are turned now, but the wheel of fortune is still moving and there is no cause for despair. Asia is at the present moment busy throwing off the yoke of thraldom, and the time is not far off when rejuvenated Asia will rise resplendent in power and glory out of the darkness of the past and take her legitimate place in the comity of free nations.

The immortal East is sometimes stigmatized by the hustlers from the West as "unchanging", just as Turkey was once upon a time called the "Sick man of Europe". But this abuse can no longer apply to Asia in general or to Turkey in particular. From Japan to Turkey and from Siberia to Ceylon, the entire Orient is astir. Everywhere there is change, there is progress, there is conflict with custom, autho-

rity and traditions. The East is unchanging as long as she chooses to be so, but once she resolves to move, she can progress faster than even Western nations. This is what is happening in Asia at the present day.

We are sometimes asked if the activity and the agitation that we witness in Asia, and particularly in India, are signs of real life or whether they are simply reactions to external stimuli. Even dead organisms can react to stimuli and one has to be sure that the movements we behold are not like the reflex actions of muscles that are dead. My conviction is that the test of life is creative activity, and when we find that present-day movements give evidence of originality and creative genius, we feel sure that we are really alive as a nation and that the renaissance that we witness in different spheres of our national life is a genuine awakening from within.

Indian civilization has emerged out of the dark ages and is now entering on a new lease of life. At one time there was a genuine danger that our civilization might die a normal death like the civilizations of Phoenicia and Babylon. But it has once again survived the onslaught of time. If we want to continue the work of rejuvenation that has begun, we must bring about a revolution of ideas, in the world of thought, and an intermingling of blood on the biological plane. Unless we refuse to accept the verdict of history and the considered opinion of thinkers like Sir Flinders Petrie, we have to admit that it is only by this means that old and worn-out civilizations can be rejuvenated. If you do not accept this view of mine, you will have to discover by your own investigation the law underlying the rise and fall of civilizations. Once we succeed in discovering this law, we shall be able to advise our countrymen as to what is necessary for us to do if we are to create a new, healthy and progressive nation in this ancient land of ours.

If we are to bring about a revolution of ideas we have first to hold up before us an ideal which will galvanize our whole life. That ideal is freedom. But freedom is a word which has a varied connotation and, even in our country, the conception of freedom has undergone a process of evolution. By freedom I mean all-round freedom, *i.e.*, freedom for the individual as well as for society; freedom for the rich as well as for the poor; freedom for men as well as women; freedom for all individuals and for all classes. This freedom implies not only emancipation from political bondage but also equal distribution of wealth, abolition of caste barriers and social inequities, and destruction of communalism and religious intolerance. This is an ideal which may appear Utopian to hard-headed men and women, but this ideal alone can appease the hunger of the soul.

The only method of achieving freedom is for us to think and feel

as free men. Let there be a complete revolution within, and let us be thoroughly intoxicated with the wine of freedom. It is only freedom-intoxicated men and women who will be able to free humanity. When the "will to be free" is roused within us, we shall then proceed to plunge headlong into an ocean of activity. The voice of caution will no longer deter us, and the lure of truth and glory will lead us on to our cherished goal.

Friends! I have tried to tell you something about what I feel, think and dream about my life's goal, and what is at present the motive-power behind all my activities. Whether this will attract you or not, I do not know. But one thing to me is perfectly clear: life has but one meaning and one purpose, namely freedom from bondage of every kind. This hunger after freedom is the song of the soul—and the very first cry of the new-born babe is a cry of revolt against the bondage in which it finds itself. Rouse this intense desire for freedom within yourselves and in your countrymen, and I am sure India will be free in no time.

India is bound to be free, of that there is not the slightest doubt. It is to me as sure as day follows night. There is no power on earth which can keep India in bondage any longer. But let us dream of an India for which it would be worth while to give all that we have—even life itself—and for which we could sacrifice our dearest and nearest. I have given you my own conception of freedom and I have tried to portray before you India as I want her to be. Let a completely emancipated India preach to the world her new gospel of freedom.

Even at the risk of being called a chauvinist, I would say to my countrymen that India has a mission to fulfil, and it is because of this that India still lives. There is nothing mystic in this word 'mission'. India has something original to contribute to the culture and civilization of the world in almost every department of human life. In the midst of her present degradation and slavery, the contributioin she has been making is by no means a small one. Just imagine for a moment how great her contribution will be once she is free to develop along her own lines and in accordance with her own requirements.

There are people in this country—and some of them eminent and respectable personages—who will not agree to an all-round application of the principle of freedom. We are sorry if we cannot please them, but in no circumstances can we give up an ideal which is based on truth, justice and equality. We shall go our own way whether others join us or not, but you can rest assured that even if a few desert us, thousands and even millions will ultimately join our army of freedom. Let us have no compromise with bondage, injustice and inequality.

Friends! It is time for all lovers of freedom to band themselves into one happy fraternity and form the army of freedom. Let this

army send out not only soldiers to fight the battle of freedom but also missionaries to propagate the new cult of freedom. It is from amongst you that these missionaries and these soldiers will have to be created. In our programme of action we must have intensive and extensive propaganda on the one hand, and a country-wide volunteer organization on the other. Our missionaries will have to go amongst the peasants and factory workers and preach the new message. They will have to inspire the youth and organize youth leagues all over the country. And last, but not least, they will have to rouse the entire womenfolk of the country for women must now come forward to take their place in society and in the body politic as equal partners of men.

Many of you must be now training yourselves for joining the session of the Indian National Congress. The Indian National Congress is undoubtedly the supreme national organization in this country. In it all our hopes are centred. But the Indian National Congress itself depends, and should depend for its strength, influence and power. on such movements as the labour movement, youth movement, peasant movement, women's movement and the students' movement. If we succeed in organizing our labour, peasantry, depressed classes, youths, students and womenfolk, we shall be able to rouse such a force in the country as will make the Indian National Congress a potent movement for achieving our political liberation. If, therefore, you want the Indian National Congress to work effectively. you will at the same time have to promote the allied movements to which I have referred.

Next door to us is China. Let us therefore take a leaf out of recent Chinese history. See what the students in China have done for their mother country. Can we not do the same for India? The renaissance in modern China is due almost wholly to the activities of Chinese students, both men and women. They have on the one hand gone out into the villages and into the towns and factories to preach the message of freedom, and on the other hand they have organized the whole country from one end to the other. We shall have to do the same thing in India. There is no royal road to freedom. The path to freedom is no doubt a thorny one, but it is a path which also leads to glory and immortality. Let us break with the past, destroy all the shackles which have bound us for ages, and like true pilgrims let us march shoulder to shoulder towards our destined goal of freedom. Freedom means life, and death in the pursuit of freedom means glory imperishable. Let us therefore resolve to be free, at least die in the pursuit of freedom. Let us show by our conduct and character that we are worthy of being the countrymen of the great martyr Jatindranath Das.

TOWARDS COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE

BEFORE I proceed to lay my case I take this opportunity of conveying my cordial and hearty thanks to Mahatma Gandhi for coming forward to move a resolution which declares Swaraj to mean complete independence. But I move this amendment because I believe that the programme laid down by his resolution is not such as to carry us towards the goal of complete independence. My amendment is consistent with the goal, and in keeping with the spirit of the times. I have no doubt it will find favour with the younger generation in this country, if not now at least in the next Congress.

Mine is a programme of all-round boycott. I do not think it will be of any use taking up one item in the programme of boycott and leaving out others. It will not be consistent with our creed of independence to go and practise in the law courts. It will not be consistent either to enter local bodies, some of which, like the Calcutta Corporation, require the oath of allegiance to be taken. There is another reason why you should give them all up. The task before us is so arduous, and the responsibility on our shoulders is so great, that we shall have to concentrate our whole time and energy on the programme of work. I should like to submit, at this stage, that if you are not prepared to go in for complete boycott, it will be no use your boycotting the Councils only.

Let us be consistent. Let us be for complete boycott or none at all. I am an extremist and my principle is—all or none. If I am to advocate a policy of the capture of public bodies I would like to capture every public body. If we are to boycott at all, why not boycott completely and concentrate our attention and energy on some other programme? Therefore I would earnestly plead for the acceptance of my amendment. I know public opinion in India today requires it.

Now a word or two on Mahatmaji's resolution. In the preamble, you are asked to endorse the action of the Working Committee in subscribing to the Delhi manifesto.* I am not prepared to advise anyone to do it. Again, are you prepared to accept the reference to the Round Table Conference? I would not call it a round table. It is certainly

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Speech at the Lahore session of the Congress, December, 1929.

*The manifesto was issued by the All Parties Conference convened at Delhi by the Congress President, Pandit Motilal Nehru. It welcomed the Viceroy's Pronouncement of Oct. 31, 1929, which held out the prospect of Dominion Status, and offered co-operation in evolving a Dominion Constitution for India. Subhas Bose and a few other dissociated themselves from the manifesto.

not round. I would call it square. A round table conference is a conference between two belligerent parties, between plenipotentiaries representing opposite sides. I ask you whether the people of India are invited to send any of their representatives with full powers to negotiate with the representatives of the British Government. Are we assured that the conclusions reached at this conference are to be ratified by both parties? Are we sure that the conclusions of the conference are not to go up for reconsideration before the British Parliament?

You know that when the treaty was drawn up between Britain and South Africa, the conclusions reached at the conference of both the parties were regarded as sacred by both. I know for a fact that in the case of the South African constitution drawn up at the conference, in spite of its grammatical errors, it had to be ratified by the British Government, and the British Parliament could not even correct those grammatical errors. That is what a round table conference means. What is the character of the conference that has been offered to India? The Simon Commission and its paraphernalia are to be there, and the conclusions of the conference are to go before the Parliament. It is not merely the people of India that should send representatives to the conference but the European Chambers of Commerce and the Ruling Chiefs. Is there a fight between the British Government, on the one hand, and the European Chambers and Ruling Chiefs on the other? Is there any fight proceeding between Government and the loyalists? I know of no such fight. When there are these bodies to send in their representatives to the conference, I say it is not a round table conference. But, unfortunately, people in this country insist on calling it so and the Britishers are equally insistent on not calling it a round table conference.

One argument more and I have done. The resolution refers to the constructive programme as the method whereby we have to achieve the political emancipation of India. I would like the House to consider whether the constructive programme, which the Congress has been pursuing for the last few years, is something which is sufficient to enable us to reach the goal of complete independence. No doubt there is a reference to civil disobedience in the resolution. But I submit that the civil disobedience will never come until we can organize the workers and peasants and depressed classes on their specific grievances. If my programme is adopted, it will be sufficiently effective for us to march on the road to independence. I appeal to the supporters of the resolution to note the altered circumstances and feedings of the people, particularly the younger generation, and accept my motion.

AFTER THE GANDHI-IRWIN PACT

FRIENDS AND comrades! Today we are meeting under the shadow of a great tragedy.* Our minds are too full to speak. At such a critical moment in the history of our country, you have asked me to preside over your conference. For this I feel grateful to you.

We are concerned here with the consideration of that socio-economic structure and body politic which will help to foster manhood and develop character and the will to translate into reality the highest ideal of collective humanity. We are also interested here in investigating the methods that will bring about the earliest attainment of this goal. I am led to the conclusion that the principles which should form the basis of our collective life are justice, equality, freedom, discipline and love. Therefore, in order to ensure equality. we must get rid of bondage of every kind—social, economic and political—and we must become fully and wholly free.

To summarize what I have said, I want a Socialist Republic in India. The message I have to give is one of complete, all-round, undiluted freedom. Until the radical or revolutionary elements are stirred up we cannot get freedom, and we cannot stir up the revolutionary elements among us except by inspiring them with a new message which comes from the heart and goes straight to the heart.

The fundamental weakness in the Congress policy and programme is that there is a great deal of vagueness and mental reservation in the minds of the leaders. Their programme is based not on radicalism but on adjustments—adjustments between landlord and the tenant, between the capitalist and the wage-earner, between the so-called upper classes and the so-called depressed classes, between men and women.

I do not believe that the Congress programme can win freedom for India. The programme by which I believe freedom can be achieved is:

(1) Organization of peasants and workers on a socialistic programme.

(2) Organization of youth into Volunteer Corps under strict discipline.

(3) Abolition of the caste system and the eradication of social and religious superstitions of all kinds.

(4) Organization of women's associations for getting our womenfolk to accept the gospel and work out the new programme.

Presidential address at the Karachi conference of the All-India Naujawan Bharat Sabha, March 27, 1931

*Execution of Bhagat Singh and other revolutionaries.

(5) Intensive programme for boycott of British goods.
(6) Creation of new literature for propagating the new cult and programme.

Before referring to the Gandhi-Irwin truce, I must say something about the Lahore executions. Bhagat Singh was a symbol of the spirit of revolt which has taken possession of the country from one end to the other. That spirit is unconquerable, and the flame which that spirit has lit up will not die. India may have to lose many more sons before she can hope to be free. These recent executions are to me sure indications that there has been no change of heart on the side of the Government and the time for an honourable settlement has not arrived as yet.

With regard to the truce embodied in the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, I may say that it is exceedingly unsatisfactory and highly disappointing. What pains me most is the consideration that at the time this Pact was drawn up we actually had more strength than would appear from the contents of the document. The Pact has inherent weaknesses, but now that the truce is an accomplished fact the question before us is what is to be done at this stage. I do not for one moment question the patriotism of those who are responsible for the truce terms. Consequently the best course for us will be to do some positive work which will strengthen the nation and the nation's demand. For this purpose I have outlined my programme which the more radical sections among our countrymen will do well to adopt and carry out. This will avoid unnecessary conflict with the Congress leaders at a time when such conflict may tend to weaken the people and strengthen the Government. Above all, let us have restraint and self-control even when we have to criticise others. We shall lose nothing by being courteous and restrained, and we may gain much.

India is the key-stone to the world edifice and a free India spells the destruction of Imperialism throughout the world. Let us, therefore, rise to the occasion and make India free so that humanity may be saved.

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

I DOUBT if we can claim that during the last eighteen months the trade union movement has gained in strength and in volume. I would rather be inclined to say that, during this period, the movement received a setback. Many factors account for this setback but in my humble opinion the two most important factors are: firstly, the split which occurred at Nagpur, and, secondly, the diversion caused by the launching of the civil disobedience movement. Some of our comrades may be disposed to think that the split did not weaken us; but I cannot share this view, for I have no doubt in my mind that, for the time being at least, we have been weakened by the split. I am therefore one of those who sincerely deplore the split, and if it be possible for us to close up our ranks I shall heartily welcome that event. So far as the second factor is concerned, I venture to think that the attention of the country as a whole was drawn away from the trade union movement owing to the superior attraction of the civil disobedience movement. Under different circumstances the trade union movement could have benefited by the civil disobedience movement and could have gained in strength as a result of it. But on this occasion the normal progress of the trade union movement has been impeded.

Attempts at unity within the ranks of the trade union movement have been made from time to time by various individuals and groups. I consider it desirable, therefore, to state clearly what the main problems are over which we quarrelled, and how unity could best be achieved at this stage. The main issues are: (1) The question of foreign affiliation; (2) Representation at Geneva; (3) Mandatory character of the Trade Union Congress resolutions.

With regard to the first issue, my personal view is that we need have no foreign affiliation now. The Indian trade union movement can well be left to take care of itself. We should be prepared to learn from every quarter and even to accept any help that may come from any part of the world. But we should not surrender to the dictates of Amsterdam or Moscow. India will have to work out her own methods and adapt herself to her environment and her own special needs.

With regard to representation at Geneva, I am afraid that too much importance has been given to this question. The best course for us would be to have an open mind and come to a decision every year on this question. We need not decide before hand, once for all, as to whether we should send any representatives to Geneva or not. Personal-

Presidential address at the All-India Trade Union Congress session in Calcutta, July 4, 1931

ly, I have no faith in Geneva. Nevertheless if any friend will be satisfied by our keeping the question open for decision every year, I have no objection to it.

With regard to the mandatory character of the Trade Union Congress resolutions, I am afraid there can hardly be any compromise if the Trade Union Congress is to exist and function. If it is to work for the attainment of working class solidarity in the country, the resolutions of the Trade Union Congress should be binding on all unions affiliated to the Congress. To reduce the Trade Union Congress to the position and status of a loose federation, or to something like an All-Parties Conference, would be suicidal.

With regard to the question of trade union unity, my position is quite clear. I want unity because thereby we can have a strong and powerful organization. But if we are to quarrel again and part company, then we need not attempt a patch-up unity now. The Trade Union Congress is public property. All unions are welcome to join the Congress and make their presence felt. If thereby the office of the Congress passes into the hands of a particular party, then no one can legitimately complain. I would, therefore, earnestly invite all unions to join the Trade Union Congress and to capture the executive if they so desire.

Some of our workers feel very much concerned over the settlement arrived at between Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Irwin. I do not propose to launch into a criticism of the settlement because that would amount to something like a *post-mortem* examination. The truce is an accomplished fact and we may ignore it at this stage. We can use our time and energy more profitably if we look to the future and try to prepare for it. The Trade Union Congress as a body did not have much to do with the civil disobedience movement last year. But it is open to it to take a larger share in the movement that is to come. In order to do that, preparations must begin from today.

The Karachi session of the Indian National Congress passed a resolution, now popularly known as the Fundamental Rights resolution. Various opinions have been expressed with regard to that resolution. On the one hand, some have roundly condemned it as altogether inadequate and unsatisfactory, while others have waxed eloquent over it. Both these views appear to me to be one-sided. However unsatisfactory the resolution may be, there is no doubt that the resolution stands for a departure from the old tradition, for a recognition of the workers and peasants, for a definite move in the direction of socialism. The value of the resolution is not in what it contains in an explicit form but in what it contains in an implicit form. It is the potentiality of the resolution, rather than the actual contents of the resolution, which appeals to me. The contents of the resolution have to be amplified and im-

proved before it can be altogether satisfactory. We are glad to note that a committee is already at work for the purpose.

People in this country are at the moment awaiting the result of the Round Table Conference. I cannot persuade myself to believe that anything substantial will come out of the conference in the present temper and mentality of the British Government. Further, the Round Table Conference is such as to make it exceedingly difficult to press home the popular point of view and the popular demand. When the result of the conference is announced, it will then be time for the people to take such action as they think fit. That psychological moment should not be lost by the people when it does arrive.

At the Nagpur session of the Congress the boycott of the Whitley Commission had been decided upon. That commission have just issued their report If I were to act like a logician, I should ignore that Report altogether but I shall not do that. Whether it be good, bad or indifferent, we should not ignore a document of that character which is now before the public and which the public are bound to take serious notice of and criticise.

I should say at the very outset that the value of the report of a particular commission lies not in what it contains on paper but in what will ultimately come out of it Will the expenditure over the commission be justified? For one thing, that is a question which even the man in the street will ask. We Indians have seen so much of reports that only if some tangible good actually comes out of a particular commission, apart from the mere issuing of a report we are inclined to be highly sceptical and suspicious about the results. I may even say that in the past the reports of some commissions have met with wholesale condemnation owing to the failure of the Government to implement even the good points in those reports.

The present report has laid considerable emphasis on the problem of welfare works for labour, and though I voted for the boycott of the Whitley Commission I have no hesitation in saying that if recommendations on this point are given effect to, there will be an improvement on the present position. Nevertheless, I am constrained to say that some of the larger and more important questions have not been dealt with properly. Labour today wants the right to work. It is the duty of the State to provide employment to the citizens and where the State fails to perform this duty it should accept the responsibility of maintaining them. In other words, the worker citizen cannot be at the mercy of the employer to be thrown out on the streets at his sweet will and made to starve. The industry of the country is today faced with a crisis owing to the application of the axe. I am not unmindful of the difficulties of the employers. It is something impossible for them to maintain their old staff and they are forced to resort to retrenchment.

But even in such cases the State cannot absolve itself of all responsibility, and the employer should be told that if in his brighter days he has made his pile with the help of his poor workers, he cannot leave them to their fate when adversity overtakes them. Until this problem of retrenchment is satisfactorily solved, there can be no industrial peace in the country.

Just as every worker can claim the right to work, he can also claim the right to a living wage. Does the factory worker in India get a living wage today? Look at the jute factories and the textile mills. What portion of their enormous profits did they spend for the welfare of the poor and oppressed workers? I know that they will say that of late they are in a bad way. But granting that proposition, may we not ask what profits they have made, what dividends they have declared, and what reserves they have piled up during their past history? I should not in this connection forget the Indian Railways either. They are now busy applying the axe. But those who are resorting to drastic retrenchment have certainly some duty towards those who in the past enabled them to swell their profits and pile up their reserves. We can also refer to our tea planters. What are the profits that they have been making, and how have they been treating their labour? Is it not a fact that in some areas at least the poor workers are still subjected to conditions which have much in common with the old institution of slavery? What has, then, the Labour Commission recommended for securing to the Indian worker a living wage and decent treatment? They have referred to minimum wages in the jute and textile industry. But can we rest assured that the minimum wages mean a living wage?

It is not necessary for me to enter into a detailed examination of the different recommendations made by the Whitley Commission. I shall refer, however, to one point which, though apparently insignificant, is of vital interest to the growth of the trade union movement in India. The report says that "Section 22 of the Trade Unions Act should be amended so as to provide that ordinarily not less than two-thirds of the officers of a registered trade union shall be actually engaged or employed in an industry with which the union is concerned". The Commission should have known that in India outsiders or non-workers are usually elected as office-bearers of trade unions because employees who agree to work as office-bearers are usually victimized by the employers on some flimsy pretext or other. Therefore if employees are to be forced to become office-bearers themselves, there should be some arrangement for preventing their victimization at the hands of their employers. Otherwise, if the present policy of victimization continues, it will be impossible for the employees to become office-bearers.

To sum up, the major problems of unemployment, retrenchment and living wage for the workers have not been handled properly. The

ameliorative programme drawn up by the Commission is attractive in many places but who is giving effect to that programme? Can anything be expected from the present Government which is definitely anti-labour? The labour problem is, therefore, ultimately a political problem Until India wins her freedom and establishes a democratic—if not socialistic—Government, no ameliorative programme for the benefit of labour can be given effect to. It is clear from the report that everything is practically left to the Government. The report does not say anything as to how labour can capture or influence the governmental machinery. But till this is done, no amount of reports can actually benefit labour. The Commission should have recommended adult franchise in connection with the new constitution. In addition to this, or as an alternative, the Commission could also have recommended a certain percentage of seats in the provincial and central legislatures to be reserved for the representatives of labour.

The trade union movement is destined to grow in strength and in volume in spite of the temporary setbacks that it may have received in the past. Various currents and cross-currents of thought sometimes make trade union workers feel bewildered as to the path or the *modus operandi* they should follow. There is, on the one hand, the Right Wing who stand for a reformist programme above everything else. On the other side there are our Communist friends who, if I have understood them aright, are adherents and followers of Moscow. Whether we agree with the views of either group or not, we cannot fail to understand them. Between these two groups is another group which stands for socialism—for full-blooded socialism—but which desires that India should evolve her own form of socialism as well as her own methods. To this group I humbly claim to belong.

I have no doubt in my own mind that the salvation of India, as of the world, depends on socialism India should learn from and profit by the experience of other nations—but India should be able to evolve her own methods in keeping with her own needs and her own environment. In applying any theory to practice, you can never rule out geography or history. If you attempt it, you are bound to fail. India should, therefore, evolve her own form of socialism When the whole world is engaged in socialistic experiments, why should we not do the same? It may be that the form of socialism which India will evolve will have something new and original about it which will be of benefit to the whole world.

MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM

I THANK the Corporation from the bottom of my heart for the address presented to me. I am not presumptuous enough to imagine that I am worthy of the great honour. On the contrary, I am here, in spite of my shortcomings, as a servant of the Indian National Congress and the Indian people at large. I take it that the presentation of the address shows the feeling of the Corporation towards the movement for India's emancipation, and towards all those who have been taking part in that movement.

While in Europe, I had the opportunity to study the Socialist Municipality of Vienna. Anyone who has been to that city cannot return without being convinced of the importance and significance of the working of that municipality to all those interested in civic affairs. During the last twelve years the Vienna Municipality has provided good housing to 200,000 persons, without raising loans. The entire cost has been charged to the revenue and realized through taxing entertainments. The Municipality has effectively solved the problem of water supply, roads, education for children, health, infant mortality and hundreds of other problems. If so much can be done in one city, naturally it has its importance for other parts of the world.

I welcome the decision to do away with limited franchise in the Bombay municipal elections. It is a significant fact which is important not only for Bombay but for the whole of the country. I offer my congratulations to the Bombay Municipality. I wish that the other provinces take a leaf out of Bombay's forward march, especially in the matter of introduction of the system of adult franchise.

The City of Bombay is very well situated. It is on a sea beach, and compares favourably with any other city in the world. But that is only one side of the picture. There are slums, and there are the poorer classes who are living under bad conditions. The Corporation will have to attend to these problems.

One of India's great men, the late Deshbandhu Das, when he became the Mayor of Calcutta, stated that every civic body should be made into a real poor men's corporation, and laid down a programme of service to the poor. It was an ideal programme. We have yet to travel a long way before we can call our municipalities poor men's corporations. What is needed is the passion, the zeal and the desire to serve the poor. In Bombay good progress has been made in primary education and other allied matters. I hope that the Bombay Corpo-

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Reply to the address of welcome presented by the Bombay Corporation, January 1938

ration will move with the times and travel as fast as possible to reach the ideal state.

In the world today, civic affairs are consciously or unconsciously moving towards municipal socialism. One ought to understand what this term implies; there is no need to fight shy of it. The work that has been undertaken by the municipalities of some of the Western cities would have been unthinkable twenty or thirty years ago. For example, look at what the Vienna Municipality has done, and the Birmingham Municipality which has started its own Bank. Other duties and responsibilities have also been undertaken by municipalities.

Municipal socialism is nothing but collective effort to serve the entire community. If that were done, the corporation would be serving not only the particular city concerned, but humanity as a whole.

It has been frequently said by the foreigners that municipal development in India has been due to contact with the West, and that before that contact very little had been achieved in India. I want to give the lie direct to this claim. In municipal matters Indians are building on ancient foundations, just as they are building on ancient foundations in matters of political freedom. I may refer in this connection to the ancient relics found from the Mahenjo Daro excavations. Even after that, there was the Mauryan Empire with its capital Pataliputra. The books about this ancient city describe the various functions that were carried on by the Pataliputra municipality, and they compare favourably with the most modern civic bodies in the world. It is necessary to remind ourselves about all this, as due to long servitude we have forgotten our own past.

HARIPURA CONGRESS

I AM deeply sensible of the honour you have done me by electing me as the President of the Indian National Congress for the coming year. I am not so presumptuous as to think for one moment that I am in any way worthy of the great honour. I regard it as a mark of your generosity and a tribute to the youth of our country, but for whose cumulative contribution to our national struggle we would not be where we are today. It is with a sense of fear and trepidation that I mount the tribune which has hitherto been graced by the most illustrious sons and daughters of our motherland. Conscious as I am of my numerous limitations, I can only hope and pray that with your sympathy and support I may be able in some small measure to do justice to the high office which you have called upon me to fill.

At the outset, may I voice your feelings in placing on record our profound grief at the death of Shrimati Swaruprani Nehru, Acharya Jagdish Chandra Bose and Dr. Sarat Chandra Chatterji. Shrimati Swaruprani Nehru was to us not merely the worthy consort of Pandit Motilal and the revered mother of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Her suffering, sacrifice and service in the cause of India's freedom were such as any individual could feel proud of. As compatriots we mourn her death and our hearts go out in sympathy to Pandit Nehru and other members of the bereaved family.

To Acharya Jagdish Chandra Bose, India will always remain beholden for being the first to secure for her an honoured place in the modern scientific world. A nationalist to the core of his heart, Acharya Jagdish gave his life not merely to science, but to India as well. India knows it and is grateful for it. We convey our heartfelt sympathy to Lady Bose.

Through the untimely death of Dr. Sarat Chandra Chatterji, India has lost one of the brightest stars in her literary firmament. His name, for years a household word in Bengal, was not less known in the literary world of India. But great as Sarat Babu was as a litterateur, he was perhaps greater as a patriot. The Congress in Bengal is distinctly poorer today because of his death. We send our sincerest condolence to the members of his family. Before I proceed further I should like to bow my head in homage to the memory of those who have laid down their lives in the service of the country since the Congress met last year at Faizpur. I should mention especially those who died in prison or internment or soon after release from internment. I should

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Presidential address at the fifty-first session of the Congress at Haripura, February 19, 1938

refer in particular to Shri Harendra Munshi, a political prisoner in the Dacca Central Jail, who laid down his life the other day as a result of hunger-strike. My feelings are still too lacerated to permit me to say much on this subject. I shall only ask you if there is not "something rotten in the state of Denmark" that such bright and promising souls as Jatin Das, Sardar Mahavir Singh and others should feel the urge not to live life but to end it.

When we take a bird's eye-view of the entire panorama of human history, the first thing that strikes us is the rise and fall of empires. In the East as well as in the West, empires have invariably gone through a process of expansion and, after reaching the zenith of prosperity, have gradually shrunk into insignificance and sometimes death. The Roman Empire of ancient times and the Turkish and Austro-Hungarian Empires of the modern period are striking examples of this law. The empires in India—the Maurya, the Gupta and the Moghal—are no exceptions to this rule. In the face of these objective facts of history, can anyone be so bold as to maintain that there is in store a different fate for the British Empire? That Empire stands today at one of the crossroads of history. The Czarist Empire collapsed in 1917, but out of its debris sprang the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. There is still time for Great Britain to take a leaf out of Russian history. Will she do so?

The British Empire is a hybrid phenomenon in politics. It is a peculiar combination of self-governing countries, partially self-governing dependencies and autocratically-governed colonies. Constitutional devices and human ingenuity may bolster up this combination for a while, but not for ever. If the internal incongruities are not removed in good time, then, quite apart from external pressure, the Empire is sure to break down under its own strain. But can the British Empire transform itself into a federation of free nations with one bold sweep? It is for the British people to answer this question. One thing, however, is certain. This transformation will be possible only if the British people become free in their own homes—only if Great Britain becomes a Socialist State.

There is an inseparable connection between the capitalist ruling classes in Great Britain and the colonies abroad. As Lenin pointed out long ago, "Reaction in Great Britain is strengthened and fed by the enslavement of a number of nations." The British aristocracy and bourgeoisie exist primarily because there are colonies and overseas dependencies to exploit. The emancipation of the latter will undoubtedly strike at the very existence of the capitalist ruling classes in Great Britain and precipitate the establishment of a socialist order in Great Britain. It is impossible of achievement without the liquidation of colonialism. We who are fighting for the political freedom of India

and other enslaved countries of the British Empire are incidentally fighting for the economic emancipation of the British people as well.

Every empire is based on the policy of divide and rule. But I doubt if any empire in the world has practised this policy so skilfully, systematically and ruthlessly as Great Britain. In accordance with this policy before power was handed over to the Irish people, Ulster was separated from the rest of Ireland Similarly, before any power is handed over to the Palestinians, the Jews will be separated from the Arabs An internal partition is necessary in order to neutralise the transference of power. The same principle of partition appears in a different form in the new Indian Constitution Here we find an attempt to separate the different communities and put them into watertight compartmens. And in the Federal Scheme there is juxtaposition of autocratic Princes and democratically elected representatives from British India. If the new Constitution is finally rejected, whether owing to the opposition of British India or owing to the refusal of the Princes to join it, I have no doubt that British ingenuity will seek some other constitutional device for partitioning India and thereby neutralizing the transference of power to the Indian people Therefore, any constitution for India which emanates from Whitehall must be examined with the utmost care and caution

The policy of 'divide and rule', though it has its obvious advantages, is by no means an unmixed blessing for the ruling power. As a matter of fact, it creates new problems and new embarrassments Great Britain seems to be caught in the meshes of her own political dualism resulting from her policy of divide and rule Will she please Muslim or Hindu India? Will she favour the Arab or the Jew in Palestine, the Arab or the Kurd in Iraq? Will she side with the King or the Wafd in Egypt? The same dualism is visible outside the Empire. In the case of Spain, British politicians are torn between such alternatives as Franco and the lawful Government, and in the wider field of European politics, between France and Germany. The contradictions and inconsistencies in Britain's foreign policy are the direct outcome of the heterogeneous composition of her Empire. The British Cabinet has to please the Jews, because it cannot ignore Jewish high finance. On the other hand, the India Office has to placate the Arabs because of Imperial interests in the Near East and in India. The only means whereby Great Britain can free herself from such contradictions and inconsistencies is by transforming the Empire into a federation of free nations. If she could do that, she would be performing a miracle in history. But if she fails, she must reconcile herself to the gradual dismemberment of a vast empire where the Sun is supposed not to set. Let the lesson of the Austro-Hungarian Empire not be lost on the British people.

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The British Empire at the present moment is suffering from strain at a number of points. Within the Empire in the extreme West there is Ireland and in the extreme East, India. In the middle lies Palestine with the adjoining countries of Egypt and Iraq. Outside the Empire there is the pressure exerted by Italy in the Mediterranean and Japan in the Far East, both of these countries being militant, aggressive and imperialist. Against this background of unrest stands Soviet Russia whose very existence strikes terror into the hearts of the ruling classes in every imperialist State. How long can the British Empire withstand the cumulative effect of this pressure and strain?

Today, Britain can hardly call herself the Mistress of the Seas Her phenomenal rise in the 18th and 19th centuries was the result of her sea-power. Her decline as an empire in the 20th century will be the outcome of the emergence of a new factor in world history—air force. It was due to this new factor of air force that an impudent Italy could successfully challenge a fully-mobilized British Navy in the Mediterranean. Distances have been obliterated and, despite all anti-aircraft defences, London lies at the mercy of any bombing squadron from a continental centre. In short, air force has revolutionized modern warfare, destroyed the insularity of Great Britain and rudely disturbed the balance of power in world politics. The clay feet of a gigantic empire now stand exposed as they have never been before.

Amid this interplay of world forces India emerges much stronger than she has ever been before. Ours is a vast country with a population of 350 millions. Our vastness in area and in population has hitherto been a source of weakness. It is today a source of strength if we can only stand united and boldly face our rulers. From the standpoint of Indian unity the first thing to remember is that the division between British India and the Indian States is an entirely artificial one. India is one and the hopes and aspirations of the people of British India and of the Indian States are identical. Our goal is that of an Independent India and in my view that goal can be attained only through a Federal Republic in which the States will be willing partners. The Congress has, time and again, offered its sympathy and moral support to the movement carried on by the States subjects for the establishment of demócratic government in what is known as Indian India. It may be that at this moment our hands are so full that the Congress is not in a position to do more for our compatriots in the States. But even today there is nothing to prevent individual Congressmen from activity espousing the cause of the States subjects and participating in their struggle. There are people in the Congress, like myself, who would like to see the Congress participating more actively in the movement of the States subjects and participating in their struggle. I personally hope that in the near future it will be possible for the Indian National

Congress to take a forward step and offer a helping hand to our fellow fighters in the States. Let us not forget that they need our sympathy and our help.

Talking of Indian unity, the next thing that strikes us is the problem of the minorities. The Congress has, from time to time, declared its policy on this question. The latest authoritative pronouncement made by the All-India Congress Committee, at its meeting in Calcutta in October 1937, runs thus :

"The Congress has solemnly and repeatedly declared its policy in regard to the rights of the minorities in India and has stated that it considers it its duty to protect these rights and ensure the widest possible scope for the development of these minorities and their participation in the fullest measure in the political, economic and cultural life of the nation. The objective of the Congress is an independent and united India where no class or group or majority or minority may exploit another to its own advantage, and where all elements in the nation may co-operate together for the common good and the advancement of the people of India. This objective of unity and mutual co-operation in a common freedom does not mean the suppression in any way of the rich variety and cultural diversity of Indian life, which have to be preserved in order to give freedom and opportunity to the individual as well as to each group to develop unhindered according to its capacity and inclination.

"In view, however, of attempts having been made to misinterpret the Congress policy in this regard, the All-India Congress Committee desire to reiterate this policy The Congress has included in its resolution on Fundamental Rights that .

(i) Every citizen of India has the right of free expression of opinion, the right of free association and combination, and the right to assemble peacefully and without arms, for a purpose not opposed to law or morality ;

(ii) Every citizen shall enjoy freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess and practise his religion, subject to public order and morality;

(iii) The culture, language and script of the minorities and of the different linguistic areas shall be protected ;

(iv) All citizens are equal before the law, irrespective of religion, caste, creed or sex ;

(v) No disability attaches to any citizen by reason of his or her religion, caste, creed or sex, in regard to public employment, office of power or honour, and in the exercise of any trade or calling ;

(vi) All citizens have equal rights and duties in regard to wells, tanks roads, schools and places of public resort maintained

out of State or local funds, or dedicated by private persons for the use of the general public;

(vii) The State shall observe neutrality in regard to all religions;

(viii) The franchise shall be on the basis of universal adult suffrage;

(ix) Every citizen is free to move throughout India and to stay and settle in any part thereof, to acquire property and to follow any trade or calling, and to be treated equally with regard to legal prosecution or protection in all parts of India.

"These clauses of the Fundamental Rights Resolution make it clear that there should be no interference in matters of conscience, religion or culture, and a minority is entitled to keep its personal law without any change in this respect being imposed by the majority.

"The position of the Congress in regard to the Communal Decision has been repeatedly made clear in Congress resolutions and finally in the Election Manifesto issued last year. The Congress is opposed to this decision as it is anti-national, anti-democratic and is a barrier to Indian freedom and the development of Indian unity. Nevertheless the Congress has declared that a change in, or suppression of, the Communal Decision should only be brought about by the mutual agreement of the parties concerned. The Congress has always welcomed and is prepared to take advantage of any opportunity to bring about such a change by mutual agreement.

"In all matters affecting the minorities in India, the Congress wishes to proceed by their co-operation and through their goodwill in a common undertaking and for the realization of a common aim which is the freedom and betterment of all the people of India."

The time is opportune for renewing our efforts for the final solution of this problem. I believe I am voicing the feelings of all Congressmen when I say that we are eager to do our very best to arrive at an agreed solution consistent with the fundamental principles of nationalism. It is not necessary for me to go into details as to the lines on which a solution should take place. Much useful ground has already been covered in past conferences and conversations. I shall merely add that only by emphasizing our common interests, economic and political, can we cut across communal divisions and dissensions. A policy of live and let live in matters religious, and an understanding in matters economic and political, should be our objective.

Though the Muslim problem looms large whenever we think of the question of the minorities, and though we are anxious to settle this problem finally, I must say that the Congress is equally desirous of doing justice to other minorities and especially the so-called depressed classes whose number is a very large one. I should put it to the members of the minority communities in India to consider dispassionately if they have anything to fear when the Congress programme is

put into operation. The Congress stands for the political and economic rights of the Indian people as a whole. If it succeeds in executing its programme, the minority communities would be benefited as much as any other section of the Indian population, Moreover, if after the capture of political power national reconstruction takes place on socialistic lines—as I have no doubt it will—it is the 'have-nots' who will benefit at the expense of the 'haves' and the Indian masses have to be classified among the 'have-nots'. There remains but one question which may be a source of anxiety to the minorities, namely religion and that aspect of culture which is based on religion. On this question, the Congress policy is one of live and let live—a policy of complete non-interference in matters of conscience, religion and culture, as well as of cultural autonomy for the different linguistic areas. The Muslims have, therefore, nothing to fear in the event of India winning her freedom; on the contrary they have everything to gain. So far as the religious and social disabilities of the so-called depressed classes are concerned, it is well known that during the last seventeen years the Congress has left no stone unturned in the efforts to remove them, and I have no doubt that the day is not far off when such disabilities will be things of the past.

I shall now proceed to consider the method which the Congress should pursue in the years to come as well as its role in the national struggle. I believe more than ever that the method should be Satyagraha or non-violent non-co-operation in the widest sense of the term, including civil disobedience. It would not be correct to call our method passive resistance. Satyagraha, as I understand it, is not merely passive resistance but active resistance as well, though that activity must be of a non-violent character. It is necessary to remind our countrymen that Satyagraha or non-violent non-co-operation may have to be resorted to again. The acceptance of office in the provinces as an experimental measure should not lead us to think that our future activity is to be confined within the limits of strict constitutionalism. There is every possibility that a determined opposition to the forcible inauguration of Federation may land us in another big campaign of civil disobedience.

In our struggle for independence we may adopt either of two alternatives. We may continue our fight until we have our full freedom and in the meantime decline to use any power that we may capture while on the march. We may, on the other hand, go on consolidating our position while we continue our struggle for Purna Swaraj or complete independence. From the point of view of principle, both the alternatives are equally acceptable and *a priori* considerations need not worry us. But we should consider very carefully at every stage as to which alternative would be more conducive to our national advancement. In

either case, the ultimate stage in our progress will be the severance of the British connection. When that severance takes place and there is no trace left of British domination, we shall be in a position to determine our future relationship with Great Britain through a treaty of alliance voluntarily entered into by both parties. What our future relations with Great Britain will or should be, it is too early to say. That will depend to a large extent on the attitude of the British people themselves. On this point I have been greatly impressed by the attitude of President de Valera Like the President of Eire, I should also say that we have no enmity towards the British people. We are fighting Great Britain and we want the fullest liberty to determine our future relations with her. But once we have real self-determination, there is no reason why we should not enter into the most cordial relations with the British people.

I am afraid there is a lack of clarity in the minds of many Congress men as to the role of the Congress in the history of our national struggle. I know that there are friends who think that after freedom is won the Congress Party, having achieved its objective, should wither away. Such a conception is entirely erroneous. The party that wins freedom for India should be also the party that will put into effect the entire programme of post-war reconstruction. Only those who have won power can handle it properly. If other people are pitchforked into seats of power which they were not responsible for capturing, they will lack that strength, confidence and idealism which is indispensable for revolutionary reconstruction. It is this which accounts for the difference in the record of the Congress and non-Congress Ministries even in the very narrow sphere of provincial autonomy.

No, there can be question of the Congress Party withering away after political freedom has been won. On the contrary, the party will have to take over power, assume responsibility for administration and put through its programme of reconstruction. Only then will it fulfil its role. If it were forcibly to liquidate itself, chaos would follow. Looking at post-war Europe, we find that only in those countries has there been orderly and continuous progress where the party which seized power undertook the work of reconstruction.

I know that it will be argued that the continuance of a party in such circumstances, standing behind the State, will convert that State into a totalitarian one; but I cannot admit the charge. The State will possibly become a totalitarian one if there be only one party as in countries like Russia, Germany and Italy. But there is no reason why other parties should be banned. Moreover, the party itself will have a democratic basis, unlike, for instance, the Nazi Party which is based on the "leader principle". The existence of more than one party and the democratic basis of the Congress Party will prevent the future Indian

State becoming a totalitarian one Further, the democratic basis of the party will ensure that leaders are not thrust upon the people from above, but are elected from below.

Though it may be somewhat premature to give a detailed plan of reconsruction, we might as well consider some of the principles according to which our future social reconstruction should take place. I have no doubt in my mind that our chief national problems relating to the eradication of poverty, illiteracy and disease, and to scientific production and distribution, can be effectively tackled only along socialistic lines. The very first thing which our future national government will have to do would be to set up a commission for drawing up a comprehensive plan of reconstruction. This plan will have two parts--an immediate programme and a long-period programme. In drawing up the first part, the immediate objectives which will have to be kept in view will be three-fold: firstly, to prepare the country for self-sacrifice; secondly, to unify India; and, thirdly, to give scope for local and cultural autonomy. The second and third objectives may appear to be contradictory, but they are not really so. Whatever political talent or genius we may possess as a people will have to be used in reconciling these two objectives. We shall have to unify the country so that we may be able to hold India against any foreign invasion. While unifying the country through a strong Central Government, we shall have to put all the minority communities as well as the provinces at their ease, by allowing them a large measure of autonomy in cultural as well as governmental affairs. Special efforts will be needed to keep our people together when the load of foreign domination is removed, because alien rule has demoralized and disorganized us to a degree. To promote national unity we shall have to develop our *lingua franca* and a common script. Further, with the help of such modern scientific contrivances as aeroplanes, telephone, radio, films, television, etc., we shall have to bring the different parts of India closer to one another and through a common educational policy we shall have to foster a common spirit among the entire population

So far as our *lingua franca* is concerned, I am inclined to think that the distinction betwteen Hindi and Urdu is an artificial one. The most natural *lingua franca* would be a mixture of the two, such as is spoken in daily life in large portions of the country, and this common language may be written in either of the two scripts, Nagari or Urdu. I am aware that there are people in India who strongly favour either of the two scripts to the exclusion of the other. Our policy, however, should not be one of exclusion. We should allow the fullest latitude to use either script. At the same time, I am inclined to think that the ultimate solution and the best solution would be the adoption of a script that would bring us into line with rest of the world. Perhaps, some of our countrymen will gape with horror when they hear of the adoption of the Roman

script, but I would beg them to consider this problem from the scientific and historical point of view. If we do that, we shall realize at once that there is nothing sacrosanct in a script. The Nagari script, as we know it today, has passed through several phases of evolution. Besides, most of the major provinces of India have their own script and there is the Urdu script which is used largely by the Urdu-speaking public in India and by both Muslims and Hindus in provinces like the Punjab and Sind. In view of such diversity, the choice of a uniform script for the whole of India should be made in a thoroughly scientific and impartial spirit, free from bias of every kind. I confess that there was a time when I felt that it would be anti-national to adopt a foreign script. But my visit to Turkey in 1934 was responsible for converting me. I then realized for the first time what a great advantage it was to have the same script as the rest of the world. So far as our masses are concerned, since more than 90 per cent are illiterate and are not familiar with any script, it will not matter to them which script we introduce when they are educated. The Roman script will, moreover, facilitate their learning a European language. I am quite aware how unpopular the immediate adoption of the Roman script would be in our country. Nevertheless, I would beg my countrymen to consider what would be the wisest solution in the long run.

With regard to the long-period programme for a free India, the first problem to tackle is that of our increasing population. I do not desire to go into the theoretical question as to whether India is over populated or not. I simply want to point out that where poverty, starvation and disease are stalking the land, we cannot afford to have our population mounting up by thirty millions during a single decade. If the population goes up by leaps and bounds, as it has done in the recent past, our plans are likely to fall through. It will, therefore, be desirable to restrict our population until we are able to feed, clothe and educate those who already exist. It is not necessary at this stage to prescribe the methods that should be adopted to prevent a further increase in population, but I would urge that public attention be drawn to this question.

Regarding reconstruction, our principal problem will be how to eradicate poverty from our country. That will require radical reform of our land system, including the abolition of landlordism. Agricultural indebtedness will have to be liquidated and provision made for cheap credit for the rural population. An extension of the co-operative movement will be necessary for the benefit of both producers and consumers. Agriculture will have to be put on a scientific basis with a view to increasing the yield from the land.

To solve the economic problem, agricultural improvement will not be enough. A comprehensive scheme of industrial development under State ownership and State control will be indispensable. A new indus-

trial system will have to be built up in place of the old one, which has collapsed as a result of mass production abroad and alien rule at home. A Planning Commission will have to consider carefully and decide which of the home industries could be revived despite the competition of modern factories, and in which sphere large-scale production should be encouraged. However much we may dislike modern industrialism and condemn the evils which follow in its train, we cannot go back to the pre-industrial era, even if we desire to do so. It is well, therefore, that we should reconcile ourselves to industrialization and devise means to minimize its evils and at the same time explore the possibilities of reviving cottage industries where there is a possibility of their surviving the inevitable competition of factories. In a country like India there will be plenty of room for cottage industries, especially in the case of industries, including hand-spinning and hand-weaving, allied to agriculture

Last but not the least, the State, on the advice of a Planning Commission, will have to adopt a comprehensive scheme for gradually socializing our entire agricultural and industrial system in the spheres of both production and distribution. Extra capital will have to be procured for this, whether through internal or external loans or through inflation.

Opposing or resisting the provincial part of the Constitution will be hardly possible now, since the Congress Party has accepted office in seven out of eleven provinces. All that could be done would be to strengthen and consolidate the Congress. I am one of those who were not in favour of taking office, not because there was something inherently wrong in doing so, not because no good could come out of that policy, but because it was apprehended that the evil effects of office-acceptance would outweigh the good. Today I can only hope that my forebodings were unfounded.

How can we strengthen and consolidate the Congress while our Ministers are in office? The first thing to do is to change the composition and character of the bureaucracy. If this is not done, the Congress Party may come to grief. In every country, the Ministers come and go but the steel frame of the permanent services remains. If this is not altered in composition and character, the governmental party and its Cabinet are likely to prove ineffective in putting their principles into practice. This is what happened in the case of the Social Democratic Party in post-war Germany and perhaps in the case of the Labour Party in Great Britain in 1924 and 1929. It is the permanent services who really rule in every country. In India they have been created by the British and in the higher ranks they are largely British in composition Their outlook and mentality is in most cases neither Indian nor national, and a national policy cannot be executed until the permanent services become national in outlook and mentality. The difficulty of course will

be that the higher ranks of the permanent services being under the Secretary of State for India and not under the provincial Government, it will not be easy to alter their composition.

Secondly, the Congress Ministers in the different provinces should, while they are in office, introduce schemes of reconstruction in the spheres of education, health, prohibition, prison reform, irrigation, industry, land reform, workers' welfare, etc. In this matter attempts should be made to have, as far as possible, a uniform policy for the whole of India. This uniformity could be brought about in either of two ways. The Congress Ministers in the different provinces could themselves come together, as the Labour Ministers did in October 1937 in Calcutta, and draw up a uniform programme. Over and above this, the Congress could lend a helping hand by giving directions to the different departments of the Congress-controlled provincial Governments in the light of such advice as it may get from its own experts. This will mean that the members of the Congress Working Committee should be conversant with the problems that come within the purview of the Congress Governments in provinces. It is not intended that they should go into the details of administration. All that is needed is that they should have a general understanding of the different problems so that they could lay down the broad lines of policy. In this respect the Congress Working Committee could do much more than it has hitherto done, and unless it does so I do not see how that body can keep an effective control over the different Congress Ministries.

At this stage I should like to say something more about the role of the Congress Working Committee. This Committee, in my judgment, is not merely the directing brain of the national army of fighters for freedom. It is also the shadow cabinet of Independent India, and it should function accordingly. This is not an invention of my own. It is the role which has been assigned to similar bodies in other countries that have fought for their national emancipation. I am one of those who think in terms of a Free India—who visualize a National Government in this country within the brief span of our own life. It is consequently natural for us to urge that the Working Committee should feel and function as the shadow cabinet of a Free India. This is what President de Valera's Republican Government did when it was fighting the British Government and was on the run. And this is what the Executive of the Wafd Party in Egypt did before it got into office. The members of the Working Committee, while carrying on their day-to-day work, should accordingly study the problems they will have to tackle in the event of their capturing political power.

More important than the question of the proper working of the Congress Governments is the immediate problem of how to oppose the inauguration of the federal part of the Constitution. The Congress

attitude towards the proposed Federal Scheme has been clearly stated in the resolution adopted by the Working Committee at Wardha on February 4, 1938, which will be placed before this Congress after the Subjects Committee has considered it. That resolution says:

"The Congress has rejected the new constitution and declared that a constitution for India which can be accepted by the people must be based on Independence and can only be framed by the people themselves by means of a Constituent Assembly, without the interference of any foreign authority. Adhering to this policy of rejection, the Congress has, however, permitted the formation in provinces of Congress Ministries with a view to strengthening the nation in its struggle for Independence. In regard to the proposed Federation, no such consideration applies even provisionally, or for a period, and the imposition of this Federation will do grave injuries to India and tighten the bonds which hold her under the subjection of an imperialist domination This scheme of Federation excludes from the sphere of responsibility the vital functions of the Government.

"The Congress is not opposed to the idea of Federation, but a real Federation must, even apart from the question of responsibility, consist of free units enjoying more or less the same measure of freedom and civil liberty and representation by a democratic process of election. Indian States participating in the Federation should approximate to the Provinces in the establishment of representative institutions, responsible government, civil liberties and the method of election to the Federal House. Otherwise, Federation as it is now contemplated will, instead of building Indian unity, encourage separatist tendencies and involve the State in internal and external conflict.

"The Congress, therefore, reiterates its condemnation of the proposed scheme and calls upon provincial and local Congress committees and the people generally, as well as Provincial Governments and Ministries, to prevent its inauguration.

"In the event of an attempt being made to impose it, despite the declared will of the people, such an attempt must be combated in every way and the Provincial Governments and Ministries must refuse to co-operate with it.

"In case such a contingency arises, the A.I.C.C. is authorized and directed to determine the line of action to be pursued in this regard."

I should like to add some more arguments to explain the attitude of uncompromising hostility towards the proposed Federation. One of the most objectionable features of the Federable Scheme relates to the commercial and financial safeguards in the new Constitution. Not only will the people continue to be deprived of any power over defence or foreign policy, but the major portion of the expenditure will also be entirely

ment for the year 1937-38, the Army expenditure comes to 44.61 crores of rupees (£33.46 million) out of a total expenditure of 77.90 crores of rupees (£58.42 million), that is, roughly 57 per cent of the total expenditure of the Central Government. It appears that the reserved side of the Federal Government, which will be controlled by the Governor-General, will handle about 80 per cent of the Federal expenditure. Moreover, bodies like the Reserve Bank and the Federal Railway Authority, which are already created or will be created, will work as *imperium in imperio* uncontrolled by the Federal Legislature. The Legislature will be deprived of the power it possesses at present to direct and influence railway policy and it will not have any voice in determining the currency and exchange policy of the country which has a vital bearing on its economic development.

The fact that external affairs will be a reserved subject under the Federal Government will prejudicially affect the freedom of the Indian Legislature to conclude trade agreements and will seriously restrict, in effect, fiscal autonomy. The Federal Government will not be under any constitutional obligation to place such trade agreements before the Legislature for their ratification even as they decline at present to give an undertaking to place the Indo-British Trade Agreement before the Indian Legislative Assembly. The so-called fiscal autonomy convention will have no meaning unless it is stipulated that no trade agreement on behalf of India shall be signed by any party without its ratification by the Indian Legislature. In this connection I should like to state that I am definitely of opinion that India should enter into bilateral trade agreements with countries like Germany, Czechoslovakia, Italy and the United States of America with whom she has had close trade relations in the past. But under the new Constitution it will not be within the power of the Federal Legislature to force the Federal Government to enter into such bilateral trade agreements.

The iniquitous and inequitable commercial safeguards embodied in the Act will make it impossible for any effective measures to be adopted in order to protect and promote Indian national industries especially where they might, as they often do, conflict with British commercial or industrial interests. In addition to the Governor-General's special responsibility to see that provisions with regard to discrimination as laid down in the Act are duly carried out, it is also his duty to prevent any action which would subject British goods imported into India to any kind of discriminatory or penal treatment. A careful study of these stringent and wide provisions will show that India can adopt no measures against British competition which the Governor-General cannot, in effect, stultify or veto whether in the Legislature or in the administrative sphere. It is, of course, preposterous to permit foreigners in this country to compete with the nationals on equal terms, and there can be no

genuine Swaraj if India is to be denied the power to devise and adopt a national economic policy including the right, if her interests so require, of differentiating between nationals and non-nationals.

In a famous article in *Young India* under the caption "The Giant and the Dwarf", written soon after the conclusion of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact in 1931, Mahatma Gandhi declared plainly that "to talk of no discrimination between Indian interests and English or European, is to perpetuate Indian harlotage. What is equality of rights between a giant and a dwarf?" Even the meagre powers enjoyed by the Central Legislature at present to enact a measure like the reservation of the Indian coastal trade for Indian-owned and Indian-managed vessels has been taken away under the so-called reformed Constitution. Shipping is a vital industry which is essential for defensive as well as for economic purposes, but all the accepted and legitimate methods of developing this key industry, including those adopted even by several British Dominions, are henceforth rendered impossible for India. To justify such limitations on our sovereignty on the ground of 'reciprocity' and 'partnership' is literally to add insult to injury.

The right of the future Indian Parliament to differentiate or discriminate between nationals and non-nationals, whenever Indian interests require it, should remain intact and this right we cannot sacrifice on any account. I would like in this connection to cite the Irish parallel. The Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act of 1935 provides for a distinct Irish citizenship in connection with the electoral system, entry into public life, merchant shipping, law, aircraft, as also in connection with special privileges which it is thought proper to reserve for Irish nationals such as those conferred through measures for assisting Irish industry. Irish citizenship, in other words, is distinct from British, which cannot claim equal rights in the State of Eire. I feel that India must similarly seek to develop her own distinct nationality and establish a citizenship of her own.

While on the question of fiscal autonomy and commercial safeguards, I might refer briefly to the need for an active foreign trade policy for India. India's foreign trade should be viewed not in a haphazard or piecemeal manner, as is often done in order to provide some immediate or temporary benefit to British industry, but in a comprehensive manner so as to co-ordinate India's economic development with its export trade on the one hand and its external obligations on the other. The very nature of India's export trade makes it essential that it shall not have any restrictive agreement with England such as would jeopardize its trade with the various non-empire countries which have been in several respects its best customers, or such as would tend to weaken India's bargaining power *vis-a-vis* other countries. It is unfortunate that the protracted negotiations for an Indo-British Trade Agreement

are still proceeding, while the Ottawa Agreement, even after the expiry of its notice period and despite the decision of the Legislative Assembly to terminate it, still continues. There is no doubt that, under the existing political conditions, any trade agreement between England and India is bound to be of an unequal character because our present political relationship would weigh the scales heavily in favour of England. There is also no doubt that the British preferential system is political in origin, and before we permit non-Indian vested interests to be established or consolidated in this country under the shelter of a trade agreement, we should be careful as to its political repercussions and economic consequences. I trust that the present Indo-British trade negotiations will not be allowed to impede the conclusion of bilateral trade agreements with other countries whenever possible, and that no such trade agreement will be signed by the Government of India unless it is ratified by the Indian Legislature.

From the above, it will be clear that there is no analogy between the powers of the Provincial Ministries and those of the proposed Federal Ministry. Moreover, the composition of the Federal Legislature is reactionary to a degree. The total population of the Indian States is roughly 24 per cent of that of the whole of India. Nevertheless the Rulers of the States, not their subjects, have been given 33 per cent of the seats in the Lower House and 40 per cent in the Upper House of the Federal Legislature. On our success in resisting the imposition of Federation by the British Government will depend our immediate political future. We have to fight Federation by all legitimate and peaceful means, not merely along constitutional lines, and in the last resort we may have to resort to mass civil disobedience which is the ultimate sanction we have in our hands. There can be little doubt that, in the event of such a campaign being started in the future, the movement will not be confined to British India but will spread among the States subjects.

To put up an effective fight in the near future, it is necessary to put our own house in order. The awakening among our masses during the last few years has been so tremendous that new problems have arisen concerning our party organization. Meetings attended by fifty thousand men and women are not an unusual occurrence nowadays. It is sometimes found that to control such meetings and demonstrations our machinery is not adequate. Apart from these passing demonstrations, there is the bigger problem of mobilizing this phenomenal mass energy and enthusiasm and directing them along proper lines. But have we got a well-disciplined Volunteer Corps for this purpose? Have we got a cadre of officers for national service? Do we provide any training for our budding leaders, and for our promising young workers? The answers to these questions are too patent to need elaboration. We have

not yet provided all these requirements of a modern political party, but it is high time that we did. A disciplined Volunteer Corps manned by trained officers is exceedingly necessary. Moreover education and training should be provided for our political workers, so that we may produce a better type of leaders in future. This sort of training is provided by political parties in Britain through Summer Schools and other institutions and is a speciality in totalitarian States. With all respect to our workers who have played a glorious part in our struggle, I must confess that there is room for more talent in our party. This defect can be made up partly by recruiting promising young men for the Congress and partly by providing education and training for those whom we already have. Everybody must have observed how some European countries have been dealing with this problem. Though our ideals and methods of training are quite different from theirs, it will be admitted on all hands that a thorough scientific training is a requisite for our workers. Further, an institution like the Labour Service Corps of the Nazis deserves careful study and with suitable modification may prove beneficial to India.

While dealing with the question of enforcing discipline within our own party, we have to consider a problem which has been causing worry and embarrassment to many of us. I am referring to organizations like the Trade Union Congress and the Kisan Sabhas and their relations with the Indian National Congress. There are two opposing schools of thought on this question: those who condemn any organizations that are outside the Congress, and those who advocate them. My own view is that we cannot abolish such organizations by ignoring or condemning them. They exist as objective facts and since they have come into existence and show no signs of liquidating themselves, it should be manifest that there is historical necessity behind them. Moreover, such organizations are to be found in other countries. I am afraid that whether we like it or not, we have to reconcile ourselves to their existence. The only question is how the Congress should treat them. Obviously such organizations should not appear as a challenge to the National Congress which is the organ of mass struggle for capturing political power. They should, therefore, be inspired by Congress ideals and work in close co-operation with the Congress. To ensure this, Congress workers should in large numbers participate in trade union work. I feel that this could easily be done without landing oneself in conflict or inconsistency. Co-operation between the Congress and the other two organizations could be facilitated if the latter deal primarily with the economic grievances of the workers and peasants and treat the Congress as a common platform for all those who strive for the political emancipation of their country.

This brings us to the vexed problem of the collective affiliation of

workers' and peasants' organizations to the Congress. Personally, I hold the view that the day will come when we shall have to grant this affiliation in order to bring all progressive and anti-imperialist organizations under the influence and control of the Congress. There will, of course, be difference of opinion as to the manner and the extent to which this affiliation should be given, and the character and stability of such organizations will have to be examined before affiliation could be agreed to. In Russia, the united front of the Soviets of workers, peasants and soldiers played a dominant part in the October Revolution, but on the contrary in Great Britain we find that the British Trades Union Congress exerts a moderating influence on the National Executive of the Labour Party. In India we shall have to consider carefully what sort of influence organizations like the Trade Union Congress and the Kisan Sabhas will exert on the Indian National Congress in the event of affiliation being granted. We should not forget that there is the possibility that the former may not have a radical outlook if their immediate economic grievances are not involved. In any case, quite apart from the question of collective affiliation, there should be the closest co-operation between the National Congress and the other anti-imperialist organizations, and this objective would be facilitated by the latter adopting the principles and methods of the former.

There has been a great deal of controversy over the formation of the Congress Socialist Party. I am not a member of the C.S.P. But I must say that I have been in agreement with its general principles and policy from the very beginning. In the first place, it is desirable for the Leftist elements to be consolidated into one party. Secondly, a Leftist bloc can have a *raison d'etre* only if it is socialist in character. There are friends who object to such a bloc being called a party, but to my mind it is quite immaterial whether you call that bloc a group, league or party. Within the limits prescribed by the constitution of the Indian National Congress it is quite possible for a Leftist bloc to have a socialist programme, in which case it can be very well called a group, league or party. But the role of the Congress Socialist Party, or any other party of the same sort, should be that of a Left-wing group. Socialism is not an immediate problem for us; nevertheless, socialist propaganda can be conducted only by a party like the Congress Socialist Party which stands for and believes in Socialism.

There is one problem in which I have been taking deep personal interest for some years and in connection with which I should like to make my submission. I mean the question of a foreign policy for India and of developing international contacts. I attach great importance to this work because I believe that, in the years to come, international developments will favour our struggle in India. But we must have a correct appreciation of the world situation at every stage and should

know how to take advantage of it. Egypt stands before us as an example. Egypt won her Treaty of Alliance with Great Britain without firing a shot, simply because she knew how to take advantage of the Anglo-Italian tension in the Mediterranean.

In connection with our foreign policy, the first suggestion that I have to make is that we should not be influenced by the internal politics of any country or the form of its State. We shall find in every country men and women who will sympathize with Indian freedom, no matter what their own political views may be In this matter we should take a leaf out of Soviet diplomacy. Though Soviet Russia is a Communist State her diplomats have not hesitated to make alliances with non-socialist States and have not declined sympathy or support coming from any quarter. We should therefore aim at developing a nucleus of men and women in every country who would feel sympathetic towards India. To create and develop such a nucleus, propaganda through the foreign Press, through Indian-made films and through art exhibitions should be helpful. The Chinese, for example, have made themselves exceedingly popular in Europe through their art exhibitions. Above all, personal contacts are necessary. Without such personal contacts, it would be difficult to make India popular in other countries. Indian students abroad could also help in this work, provided we in India look to their needs and requirements. There should be closer contact between Indian students abroad and the Indian National Congress at home. If we could send out cultural and educational films made in India, I am sure that India and her culture would become known and appreciated by people abroad. Such films would prove exceedingly useful to Indian students and Indian residents in other countries, who at present are like non-official ambassadors of the country.

I do not like the word propaganda; there is an air of falsity about it. But I insist that we should make India and her culture known to the world. I say this because I am aware that such efforts will be welcomed in every country in Europe and America. If we go ahead with this work, we shall be preparing the basis for our future embassies and legations in different lands. We should not neglect Great Britain either. We have even in that country a small but influential group of men and women who are genuinely sympathetic towards Indian aspirations. Among the rising generation, and students in particular, interest in and sympathy for India is rapidly on the increase. One has only to visit the Universities of Great Britain to realize this.

To carry on such work effectively, the Indian National Congress should have its trusted agents in Europe, Asia, Africa and in North, Central and South America. It is a pity that we have so far neglected Central and South America where there is profound interest in India. The Congress should be assisted in this work of developing international

contacts by the Indian Chambers of Commerce working in the spher of international commerce. Further, Indians should make it a point tc attend every international congress or conference. Participation in suct conferences is a very useful and healthy form of propaganda for India

While talking of international contacts, I should remove a misgiving which may be present in some minds. Developing internationa contacts does not mean intriguing against the British Government. We do not need to go in for such intrigues and all our methods should be above board. The propaganda that goes on against India all over the world is to the effect that India is an uncivilized country and it is inferred therefrom that the British are needed in order to civilize us. As a reply we have only to let the world know what we are and what our culture is like. If we can do that, we shall create such a volume of international sympathy in our favour that India's case will become irresistible before the bar of world opinion.

I should not forget to refer to the problems, the difficulties and the trials which face our countrymen in different parts of Asia and Africa—notably in Zanzibar, Kenya, South Africa, Malaya and Ceylon. The Congress has always taken the keenest interest in their affairs and will continue to do so in future. If we have not been able to do more for them, it is only because we are still slaves at home. A free India will be a healthy and potent factor in world politics and will be able to look after the interest of its nationals abroad.

I must in this connection stress the desirability and necessity of developing closer cultural relations with our neighbours: Persia, Afghanistan, Nepal, China, Burma, Siam, the Malaya States, East Indies and Ceylon. It would be good for both parties if they knew more of us and we knew more of them. With Burma and Ceylon in particular we should have the most intimate cultural intercourse in view of age-long contacts.

Friends, I am sorry I have taken more of your time than I had intended at first, but I am now nearing the end of my address. There is one important matter, the burning topic of the day, to which I should now draw your attention: the question of the release of detenus and political prisoners. The recent hunger strikes have brought this question to the forefront and have focussed public attention on it. I believe that I am voicing the feelings of at least the rank and file of the Congress when I say that everything humanly possible should be done to expedite their release. So far as the Congress Ministries are concerned, it would be well to note that the record of some of them has not come up to public expectation. The sooner they satisfy the public demand the better it will be for the Congress and for the people who are suffering in provinces ruled by non-Congress Ministries. It is not necessary for me to labour this point and I fervently hope that in the immediate

future the public will have nothing to complain of so far as the record of the Congress Ministries on this point is concerned.

It is not only the detenus and political prisoners in jail and detention who have their tale of woe. The lot of those who have been released is sometimes no better. They often return home in shattered health, victims of fell diseases like tuberculosis. Grim starvation stares them in the face and they are greeted, not with the smiles but with the tears of their near and dear ones. Have we no duty to those who have given of their best in the service of their country and have received nothing but poverty and sorrow in return? Let us, therefore, send our heartfelt sympathy to all those who have suffered for the crime of loving their country and let us all contribute our humble mite towards the alleviation of their misery.

Friends, one word more and I have done. We are faced with a serious situation today. Inside the Congress there are differences between the Right and the Left which it would be futile to ignore. Outside, there is the challenge of British Imperialism which we are called upon to face. What shall we do in this crisis? Need I say that we have to stand four-square against all the storms that may beset our path, and be impervious to all the designs that our rulers may employ? The Congress today is the one supreme organ of mass struggle. It may have its Right bloc and its Left but it is a common platform for all anti-imperialist organizations striving for Indian emancipation. Let us, therefore, rally the whole country under the banner of the Indian National Congress. I would appeal specially to the Leftist groups in the country to pool all their strength and their resources for democratizing the Congress and reorganizing it on the broadest anti-imperialist basis. In making this appeal, I am greatly encouraged by the attitude of the leaders of the British Communist Party whose general policy with regard to India seems to me to be in keeping with that of the Indian National Congress.

In conclusion, I shall voice your feelings by saying that all India fervently hopes and prays that Mahatma Gandhi may be spared to our nation for many years to come. India cannot afford to lose him and certainly not at this hour. We need him to keep our struggle free from bitterness and hatred. We need him for the cause of humanity. Ours is a struggle not only against British Imperialism but against world imperialism as well, of which the former is the key-stone. We are, therefore, fighting not for the cause of India alone but of humanity as well. India freed means humanity saved. Vande Mataram!

MEDICAL MISSION TO CHINA

I HAVE been informed by the Chinese Consulate in India that the Chinese Government have accepted the offer of the Congress Working Committee to send an Ambulance Unit to China. It now behoves us to push on with our arrangements and send our Medical Mission as early as possible.

The All-India China Day was successfully observed throughout the country. I am grateful to the public for their splendid response on that day. It is, however, to be regretted that collections could not be made satisfactorily on that occasion owing to shortness of notice. It has been suggested by friends in different parts of the country that some day or days be fixed in July exclusively for collecting funds for our Medical Mission.

I heartily approve of the idea and fix July 7, 8 and 9 as China Fund Days. The dates July 7 and 9 are of great historical importance so far as the Chinese people are concerned. I request Congress organizations all over the country to make an intensive drive on these days for collecting funds. All sums collected should be sent to the All India Congress Committee office at Allahabad. Let us not forget that we must collect a sum of Rs. 22,000 on this occasion.

It would be a token of our regard for the Chinese people and would also help considerably to collect funds if miniature Chinese flags are sold on these days. This device should prove useful in the big cities, and I hope that wherever possible these three days will also be observed as China Flag days.

I do hope that our collection will be enough to keep our medical mission at work for at least one year.

In conclusion, I should like to inform the public that orders have been already placed with Ford's for a fully equipped ambulance, which will be sent by them straight to Hongkong. The ambulance, together with the medical staff, will be a living emblem of India's sympathy and goodwill for the great Chinese people in the darkest hour in their history. I earnestly hope and trust that the response of the people will be worthy of the Congress and the Indian nation.

Appeal to the peoples through a press statement, June 30, 1938

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NATIONAL WEEK

FOR NEARLY two decades, the National Week has been celebrated by the Indian National Congress throughout the country from April 6 to 13, both days inclusive. The last date of the week coincides with the anniversary of the day when the Jallianwala Bagh massacre took place at Amritsar in 1919.

It may appear queer to many that the National Week is being observed all these years to remind us of one of the most shameful and humiliating episodes in the history of British rule in India. But there is an obvious and legitimate ground for our doing so.

It often happens that, when the nation loses its freedom and self-respect, humiliation, persecution and suffering bring about a re-birth of its national soul. Our object in celebrating the National Week is not to rouse hatred against the British, but to remind us of the depth to which we have fallen from lofty heights, and thereby stimulate our progress towards national liberation and self-fulfilment.

During this week there should be nation-wide activity for the coming struggle, through elevation of our individual and national character. Above all, the greatest stress should be laid on the constructive forms of activity, for instance, propagation of *khadi*, vigorous enrolment of primary Congress members, promotion of Prohibition and the anti-untouchability campaign, drive against illiteracy, promotion of inter-communal understanding, etc.

Last but not least, I would earnestly appeal to all Congressmen to put forward their utmost effort in the direction of rooting out corruption and weakness within our ranks and to see to it that members enlisted are genuine Congress members. In this task we should seek the co-operation of all anti-imperialist organizations, particularly trade unions and Kisan Sabhas, and thus further the endeavour to establish closer and more harmonious relations between the Congress and such anti-imperialist organizations, so that we may be able to build up a broad anti-imperialist front. If we can utilize the National Week in this way, we can make a distinct advance towards our goal of political and economic emancipation.

Press statement, April 6, 1939

NATIONAL PLANNING

DURING THE last few weeks I have noticed an apprehension in certain quarters as to the possible effects of our efforts at industrial planning on the movement that has been going on since 1921 for the production of *khadi* and the promotion of cottage industries under the auspices of the All-India Spinners Association and the All-India Village Industries Association respectively. It may be remembered that at Delhi I made it perfectly clear that there was no inherent conflict between cottage industries and large-scale industries. As a matter of fact, I divided industries into three classes: cottage, medium-scale and large-scale industries, and I pleaded for a plan which would lay down the scope of each of these classes. Not only that. In the National Planning Committee we have reserved a seat for a representative of the All-India Village Industries Association and a similar seat could also be arranged for the All-India Spinners Association. It would be doing us a grave injustice if it be urged or even apprehended that the promoters of the National Planning Committee want to sabotage the movement for the revival of cottage industries.

I may now add a few remarks on the relation between cottage industries and large-scale industries. Among large-scale industries, mother industries are the most important because they aim at producing the means of production. They put into the hands of artisans necessary appliances and tools for facilitating quicker and cheaper production. For example, if in the city of Banaras we could supply electrically-driven looms alongwith electrical power at the rate of half-anna per unit, it would be possible for the artisans working in their own homes to turn out *sarees* and embroidered cloth of different varieties at about five or six times the present rate of production, and it would enable them to compete successfully with foreign imported goods of this description. With a good marketing organization and an organization for the supply of raw materials, these artisans can be rescued from the depths of poverty and misery to which they have fallen.

This is not the only instance which I can give. If the power industry and the machinery manufacturing industries are controlled by the State for the welfare of the nation, a large number of light industries like the manufacture of bicycles, fountain pens and toys can be started in this country by men of the artisan class, working with the family as a unit. This exactly what has been done in Japan: success depends entirely upon the fact that power and machinery are extremely cheap

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Speech delivered while inaugurating the All-India National Planning Committee at Bombay: December 17, 1938

and the Japanese Government have set up boards for the supply of raw materials and for proper marketing. I believe that this is the only way by means of which the handloom industry and the silk industry of our country can be revived.

The National Planning Committee will have to tackle specific problems. It will have first to direct its attention to the mother industries *i.e.* those industries which make the other industries run successfully—such as the power industry, industries for the production of metals, heavy chemicals, machinery and tools, and communication industries like railway, telegraph, telephone and radio.

Our country is backward in respect of power supply compared with industrially advanced countries. In the matter of electrical power particularly, India's backwardness can be gauged from the fact that while we have at present only seven units per head, a backward country like Mexico has ninety-six units per head and Japan about five hundred units per head. In developing electrical power, the Government has squandered money: take the instance of the Mandi hydro-electric scheme on which the Government have spent ten times as much as other countries have done on similar efforts.

How I wish an enquiry could be made into the manufacture of machinery and machine tools with a view to keeping up supplies in the event of interruption of communications with foreign countries owing to war or any other causes. The other key industries into which an enquiry should be started are the fuel, metal production and heavy chemical industries. In this respect the resources of the country have not been properly investigated. Whatever little industry there is, is being controlled by foreigners, with the result that there is a lot of wastage. This is particularly true of the fuel industry.

The last key industry is the transport and communications industry which includes railways, steamships, electrical communications, radio, etc. At present the railways are controlled by the Railway Board which is entirely under European management; and only a small fraction of the requirements of railways is manufactured in the country. As regards steam navigation, excepting coastal traffic, the entire communication is in the hands of non-Indians owing to unfair privileges enjoyed by them. Electrical goods are entirely supplied by foreign countries. As regards radio, I would like to suggest the setting up of a special sub-committee to investigate its possibilities.

Lastly, we will have to consider the most important problem of finding the necessary capital and credit for our plan of industrialization. Unless this problem is solved, all our plans will remain mere paper schemes and we shall not make any headway in industrial progress.

INDIA'S GREATEST MAN

I HAVE Read the statement of Mahatma Gandhi on the recent Presidential election with all the attention that it deserves. It grieves me to find that Mahatma Gandhi has taken it as a personal defeat. I would respectfully differ from him on this point. The voters were not called upon to vote for or against Mahatma Gandhi. Consequently the result of the contest does not in my view, and in the view of most people, affect him personally.

Much has been said in the Press during the last few days about the Right and Left wings in the Congress. Several persons have interpreted the result of the election as a victory for the Leftists. The fact is that I placed before the public two main issues, namely, the fight against Federation and free and unfettered choice for the delegates in the matter of choosing their President. These issues must have greatly influenced the voting and, over and above these, the personality of the candidates might have had some effect. In the circumstances, I feel that while analysing the significance of the election we should not draw on our imagination nor should we read into it more than what it contains.

Assuming for argument's sake that the result of the election implies a victory of the Left, we should stop to consider what the Leftists' programme is. For the immediate future the Leftists stand for national unity and unrelenting opposition to the Federal scheme. In addition to this, they stand for democratic principles. Leftists will not take the responsibility of creating a split within the Congress. If a split does come, it will not be because of them, but in spite of them. Personally, I am definitely of opinion that there is neither reason nor justification for a split within the ranks of the Congress. I, therefore, earnestly hope that there will be no occasion now or in the near future for the so-called minority party to non-co-operate with the so-called majority party. I need hardly add that I shall try till the last to avert a split whenever any such likelihood appears before us.

A certain amount of apprehension has been caused in the minds of many as to the policy which people like myself will follow in future. Let me make it quite clear that there will be no violent break with the past in the parliamentary or in the extra-parliamentary sphere. So far as the Parliamentary programme is concerned, we shall only try to implement our election pledges and our parliamentary programme with greater speed than in the past. In the extra-parliamentary sphere, we shall endeavour to rally all our strength and resources for combating

Statement issued on February 5, 1939, following re-election as Congress President

Federation and for pushing on towards Purna Swaraj, and we shall, of course, act in accordance with the principles and the policy of the Indian National Congress.

In this connection, I should also like to say that I have on some occasions felt constrained to differ from Mahatma Gandhi on public questions, but I yield to none in my respect for his personality. If I have understood him correctly, he too would like to see people think for themselves even though they may not always agree with him. I do not know what sort of opinion Mahatmaji has of myself. But whatever his view may be, it will always be my aim and object to try and win his confidence for the simple reason that it will be a tragic thing for me if I succeed in winning the confidence of other people but fail to win the confidence of India's greatest man.

TRIPURI CONGRESS

COMRADE CHAIRMAN, sister and brother delegates! I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the great honour you have done me by re-electing me to the presidential chair of the Indian National Congress, and also for the warm and cordial welcome you have given me here at Tripuri. It is true that at my request you have had to dispense with some of the pomp that is usual on such occasions. But I feel that this has not taken away one iota of the warmth and cordiality of your reception, and I hope that nobody will regret the curtailment of it on this occasion.

Friends, before I proceed any further I shall voice your feelings by expressing joy at the success of Mahatma Gandhi's mission to Rajkot and the termination of his fast in consequence thereof. The whole country now feels happy and tremendously relieved.

You are aware that the Wafdist delegation from Egypt have arrived in our midst as the guests of the Indian National Congress. You will join me in according the most hearty welcome to all of them. We are extremely happy that they found it possible to accept our invitation and make the voyage to India. We are only sorry that political exigencies in Egypt did not permit the President of the Wafd, Mustapha Nahas Pasha, personally to lead this delegation. Having had the privilege of knowing the President and leading members of the Wafdist Party, my joy today is all the greater. Once again I offer them, on behalf of our countrymen, a most hearty and cordial welcome.

Friends, this year promises to be an abnormal or extraordinary one in many ways. The presidential election this time was not of a humdrum type. The election was followed by sensational developments, culminating in the resignation of twelve out of the fifteen members of the Working Committee, headed by Sardar Patel, Maulana Azad and Mr. Rajendra Prasad. Another distinguished and eminent member of the Working Committee, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, though he did not formally resign, issued a statement which led everybody to believe that he had also resigned. On the eve of the Tripuri Congress the events at Rajkot forced Mahatma Gandhi to undertake a vow of fast unto death. And then the President arrived at Tripuri a sick man. It will, therefore, be in the fitness of things if the presidential address this year can claim to be a departure from precedent in the matter of its length.

Since we met at Haripura in February 1938, several significant events have taken place in the international sphere. The most import-

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Presidential address at Tripuri session of the Congress March, 10, 1939

ant of these is the Munich Pact of September 1938, which implied an abject surrender to Nazi Germany on the part of the Western powers, France and Great Britain. As the result of this, France ceased to be a dominant power in Europe and the hegemony passed into the hands of Germany without a shot being fired. In more recent times, the gradual collapse of the Republican Government in Spain seems to have added to the strength and prestige of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. The so-called democratic powers, France and Great Britain, have joined Italy and Germany in conspiring to eliminate Soviet Russia from European politics for the time being. But how long will that be possible? And what have France and Great Britain gained by trying to humiliate Russia?

There is no doubt that as the result of the recent international developments in Europe as well as in Asia, British and French Imperialism have received a considerable set-back in the matter of strength and prestige.

Coming to home politics, in view of my ill-health I shall content myself with referring to only a few important problems. In the first place, I must give clear and unequivocal expression to what I have been feeling for some time past, namely that the time has come for us to raise the issue of Swaraj and submit our national demand to the British Government in the form of an ultimatum. The time is long past when we could have adopted a passive attitude and waited for the Federal Scheme to be imposed on us. The problem is no longer as to when the Federal Scheme will be forced down our throats. The problem is as to what we should do if the Federal Scheme is conveniently shelved for a few years till peace is stabilized in Europe. There is no doubt that once there is stable peace in Europe, whether through a Four-Power Pact or through some other means, Great Britain will adopt a strong Empire policy. She is now showing some signs of trying to conciliate the Arabs as against the Jews in Palestine, because she is feeling insecure in the international sphere. In my opinion, therefore, we should submit our national demand to the British Government in the form of an ultimatum and give a certain time-limit; if no reply is received within this period or if an unsatisfactory reply is received, we should resort to such sanctions as we possess in order to enforce our national demand.

The sanction that we possess today is mass civil disobedience or Satyagraha. And the British Government today are not in a position to face a major conflict like an all-India Satyagraha for a long period. It grieves me to find that there are people in the Congress who are so pessimistic as to think that the time is not ripe for a major assault on British Imperialism. But looking at the situation in a thoroughly realistic manner, I do not see the slightest ground for pessimism. With the Congress in power in eight provinces, the strength and the prestige of

our national organization have gone up. The mass movement has made considerable headway throughout British India. And last but not least, there is an unprecedented awakening in the Indian States. What more opportune moment could we find in our national history for a final advance in the direction of Swaraj, particularly when the international situation is favourable to us? Speaking as a cold-blooded realist, I may say that all the facts of the present-day situation are so much to our advantage that one should entertain the highest degree of optimism. If only we sink our differences, pool our resources and pull our full weight in the national struggle, we make the most of our present favourable position; or we shall miss this opportunity which is a rare opportunity in the lifetime of a nation.

I have already referred to the awakening in India and to the awakening in the Indian States I am definitely of the view that we should revise our attitude towards the States as defined by the Haripura Congress resolution. That resolution, as you are aware, put a ban on certain forms of activity in the States being conducted in the name of the Congress. Under that resolution neither parliamentary work nor the struggle in the States should be carried on in the name of the Congress, but since Haripura much has happened. Today we find that the Paramount Power is in league with the State authorities in most places In such circumstances should we of the Congress not draw closer to the people of the States? I have no doubt in my mind as to what our duty is today. Besides lifting the above ban, the work of guiding the popular movement in the States for civil liberty and responsible government should be conducted by the Working Committee on a comprehensive and systematic basis. The work so far done has been of a piecemeal nature, and there has hardly been any system or plan behind it. But the time has come when the Working Committee should assume this responsibility and discharge it in a comprehensive and systematic way and, if necessary, appoint a special Sub-Committee for the purpose. The fullest use should be made of the guidance and co-operation of Mahatma Gandhi and of the co-operation of the All-India State Peoples' Conference.

I have referred earlier to the advisability of our making the final advance in the direction of Swaraj. That will need adequate preparation. In the first place, we shall have to take steps to remove ruthlessly whatever corruption or weakness has entered into our ranks, largely due to the lure of power. Next we shall have to work in close co-operation with all anti-imperialist organizations in the country, particularly the Kisan movement and the trade union movement. All of the radical elements in the country must work in close harmony and co-operation, and the efforts of all anti-imperialist organizations must converge in the dir ction of a final assault on British Imperialism.

Friends, the atmosphere within the Congress today is clouded and dissensions have appeared. Many of our friends are consequently feeling depressed and dispirited. But I am an incorrigible optimist. The cloud that you see today is a passing one. I have faith in the patriotism of my countrymen and I am sure that before long we shall be able to tide over the present difficulties and restore unity within our ranks. A somewhat similar situation had arisen at the time of the Gaya Congress in 1922 and thereafter, when Deshbandhu Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru of hallowed memory started the Swaraj Party. May the spirit of my late Guru, of the revered Motilal and of the other great sons of India inspire us in the present crisis, and may Mahatma Gandhi, who is still with us to guide and assist the nation, help the Congress out of the present tangle. This is my earnest prayer Vande Mataram !

ANTI-WAR DAY

IT WILL be remembered that last year the 11th of November was observed as Anti-War Day by Congress organizations throughout the country. Since then much has happened in the Far East and in Europe which has resulted in a progressive deterioration of the international situation. The events of the last few weeks are too fresh in the public mind to need further recounting. Though they came as a surprise to many, those who are in touch with international affairs apprehended such a spring crisis long ago. And there is no reason to think that with the annexation of Memel Land by Germany or of Albania by Italy the crisis has come to an end. All indications point to the conclusion that the international situation will worsen from day to day.

The neo-imperialist powers of Europe seem to have unending schemes of conquest and annexation and are proceeding to give effect to them with planned precision. The old imperialist powers are alarmed for the time being and, to some extent, cowed down. But there is a limit to what they can stand.

The recent moves of Great Britain and France as well as the utterances of some responsible British and French statesmen go to show that these two countries are nok preparing to resist.

So far as India is concerned, we have had an indication of this in the Bill recently introduced in the House of Lords to amend the Government of India Act, 1935. The object of this Bill is to make India safe for an imperialist war by empowering the Central Government to rob the provincial Governments of their normal and legitimate powers and functions in the event of a war emergency arising at any time.

I am glad that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru drew public attention to this all-important matter and the Council of the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee passed a resolution declaring that any limitations imposed by the Central Government on the existing powers of the provincial Governments would be resisted. I was hoping that the international situation and in particular the situation created by the amending Bill referred to above, would be duly considered by the All-India Congress Committee and the Working Committee and a definite lead would be given to the country on this matter. But owing to the unfortunate delay in the formation of the Working Committee, I feel it incumbent to do what in my judgment the Working Committee would have done in the circumstances, *viz.*, mobilize public opinion in India in favour of non-participation in an imperialist war.

I, therefore, request that April 23, 1939, be observed throughout

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Press statement, April 20, 1939

India as Anti-War Day. On this day, meetings and demonstrations should be held everywhere at which resolutions should be passed condemning the amending Bill recently introduced in the British Parliament, re-affirming our policy of non-participation in an imperialist war and expressing our solemn resolve to resist non-violently any attempt to involve India in such a war or to exploit India's manpower or natural resources for war purposes. I humbly and earnestly appeal to all sections of the Indian community, regardless of their political creed, to join wholeheartedly in the anti-war meetings and demonstrations on the 23rd of April.

To refresh the public memory I am quoting relevant extracts from the anti-war resolutions passed by the Faizpur and Haripura sessions of the Congress.

The Faizpur resolution declared *inter alia*: "In the event of such a world war taking place there is grave danger of Indian manpower and resources being utilized for the purposes of British imperialism, and it is, therefore, necessary for the Congress to warn the country again against this and prepare it to resist such exploitation of India and her people. No credits must be voted for such a war and voluntary subscriptions and war loans must not be supported and all other war preparations resisted."

The Haripura resolution declared *inter alia*: "India can be no party to such an imperialist war and will not permit her manpower and resources to be exploited in the interests of British Imperialism. Nor can India join any war without the express consent of her people. The Congress, therefore, entirely disapproves of war preparations being made in India and large-scale manoeuvres and air raid precautions by which it has been sought to spread an atmosphere of approaching war in India. In the event of an attempt being made to involve India in a war, this will be resisted."

GENESIS OF THE FORWARD BLOC

AFTER MY release from internment in March 1937, the first meeting of the All-India Congress Committee which I attended was at Calcutta in October that year. The next A.-I.C.C. meeting that I attended was at Haripura in February 1938. I noticed at Haripura that the Leftists, instead of gaining in strength since the previous year, had lost ground. In my discussions with Leftists of different shades of opinion after the Haripura Congress, I pointed out that this set-back had occurred probably because there was something wanting in the policy and the line of action hitherto pursued by them.

Analyzing the composition of the Congress at that time, one could distinguish the following main parties or groups. There was, firstly, the official bloc led by Sardar Patel, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and others. On the Left, there were three well-defined parties or groups, differing in their numerical strength—the Congress Socialists, the Ultra-leftists and the Royists. In between these parties or groups, there were unorganized radical anti-imperialist elements who had a large numerical strength. These elements could not belong to the official bloc and, on the other hand, for reasons of their own did not like to join any of the existing Leftist parties or groups. It appeared to me that until and unless these radical anti-imperialist elements were organized on a definite platform, the Leftist movement was not likely to gather further accession of strength to an appreciable degree.

It was suggested, therefore, that a new bloc should be organized within the Congress on the basis of a minimum programme, and that it should preferably be called the Left Bloc. The existing Leftist parties would be free to join it and unorganized radical anti-imperialist elements would be also invited to come in. This idea appealed strongly at first to most of the Leftist parties and it looked as if they would sponsor the proposed new move.

A step forward was taken at the time of the All-India Congress Committee meeting at Delhi in September 1938 when a draft manifesto was prepared by an Ultra-leftist leader. This manifesto was amended by a Congress Socialist leader. It was then sent out to a limited number of Congressmen holding radical views for ascertaining their opinion.

Later on, opinion in Socialist circles began to change, and some prominent Congress Socialist leaders openly declared themselves against the idea of forming a Left bloc. In view of their altered attitude, the proposed move could not be launched by an existing Leftist group or

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Speech at Shraddhanand Park, Calcutta, May 3, 1939

groups.

The idea of a Left bloc persisted, however, and several prominent Congressmen continued their efforts in this behalf After the Presidential election on January 29, 1939, an informal gathering of radicals and Leftist Congressmen was held in Calcutta in the first week of February. The question of a Left bloc was discussed afresh, but it was discouraged by some prominent Socialist leaders. It was then felt that there was no hope of a Left bloc being sponsored and started by any of the existing Leftist groups.

The enthusiasts persisted and another informal conference was held at Tripura in March 1939 to discuss the question. Some of the prominent Socialist leaders having dropped out it was suggested that a new name should be substituted for the Left Bloc. A draft programme was formulated and adopted provisionally. It was then decided to take the final decision when the next meeting of the All-India Congress Committee was held.

From the very beginning I was in favour of this move, but I felt that I could best serve the public cause by keeping out of it, while maintaining a friendly attitude, as in the case of the Congress Socialist Party. The promoters of the Left Block, including both Socialists and non-Socialists, agreed with me.

At the informal conference held in Calcutta a few days ago, it was unanimously decided that there should be no further delay in forming a bloc within the Congress for rallying all radical anti-imperialist and progressive elements on the basis of a minimum programme which would represent the greatest common measure of agreement among radicals of all shades of opinion. It was also decided to adopt a new name, namely the 'Forward Bloc', in place of the original proposal of the Left Bloc. The Forward Bloc will not be a party as ordinarily understood, but a platform for rallying all those who accept the programme of the Bloc. Besides the unorganized radical elements in the Congress, members of the existing Leftist parties will be free to join the Forward Bloc. In fact, they will be warmly welcomed. It is hoped that, with the progress of time, the Forward Bloc will draw into its fold all radical and Socialist elements and parties in the Congress.

For the last twelve months or more, I have been pondering deeply over the problem of Left consolidation. After mature deliberation, I have come to the conclusion that the cause of Left consolidation can be furthered only by a move like the present one. If the Socialist leaders decline to sponsor this venture, it is for others who believe in the idea to come forward and do so.

The official bloc in the Congress has, as its organizational basis, the Gandhi Seva Sangh. What is the organizational basis of the non-official elements in the Congress? So far there is none. It is hoped

that the Forward Bloc, when it is fully developed, will serve as the organizational basis of all the non-official radical and Socialist elements. Only then will the Left in the Congress come to its own.

It may be argued by our critics that the formation of a Forward Bloc will cause a split in the Congress and destroy national unity. Did the formation of the Gandhi Seva Sangh create a split and destroy national unity? If it did not, then why should the formation of the Forward Bloc do so? Left consolidation will, in my view, be a stepping-stone towards real national unity, which is unity of action and not unity of inaction. Without Left consolidation I do not see how we can arrive at real national unity.

Since the birth of the Congress Socialist Party in 1934, Socialist ideas have been widely propagated throughout the country. As a result of it large masses of our people have been permeated with ideas of anti-imperialism, democracy and socialism. But organizational effort has not kept pace with agitational endeavour. That is one of the reasons why, though we had a majority at the Presidential election, we failed to have a majority in the All-India Congress Committee.

The Forward Bloc will function as an integral part of the Congress. It will accept the present constitution of the Congress—its creed, policy and programme. It will cherish the highest respect and regard for Mahatma Gandhi's personality and complete faith in his political doctrine of non-violent non-co-operation. But that will not mean that the Forward Bloc will necessarily have confidence in the present High Command of the Congress.

The question may also be asked as to why we are creating an internal crisis within the Congress at this juncture by starting the Forward Bloc. Personally, I am of the opinion that an internal crisis, today or tomorrow, is inevitable in view of the uncompromising attitude of the present High Command and their failure to move with the times. We can avert the internal crisis today only by surrendering completely to them. But what shall we gain by postponing the crisis through a surrender? Why put off the evil day? We are fast approaching an external crisis. It will be disastrous to have an internal crisis when the external crisis overtakes us. It would be much more desirable to face the internal crisis now, go through it and emerge out of it before the external crisis seizes us.

It would be a fatal mistake to think that a split, even when it is temporary, is an unmixed evil. On the contrary, it may be urged that a temporary split is sometimes necessary for the sake of political advancement. The secession of the moderates in 1918 and of the anti-non-co-operationists in 1920 was not an unmixed evil. It was necessary and inevitable for the sake of India's progress. To take an example from abroad, the emergence and growth of the Bolshevik Party would

never have been possible but for the split in the Russian Social Democrat Party in 1902. I would, therefore, beg of my countrymen not to think lightly or loosely of the so-called split that the Forward Bloc may be responsible for.

The revolt of the Swarajists at the Gaya Congress in 1922 led to misunderstanding, friction and even recrimination between Congressman and Congressman for some time; but ultimately the Congress adjusted itself to the new situation by accepting the policy and programme of the Swarajists. The same will happen in the present case. It should not be forgotten that the Left within the Congress believes in national unity more than the Right. That is why the Left stands for a composite cabinet, while the Right stands for a homogeneous one. Consequently, the Left within the Congress will always work with the object of establishing real national unity. The present move in the matter of forming the Forward Bloc at this juncture has been forced by unavoidable circumstances and by the uncompromising attitudes of the High Command.

It remains for me to say what my attitude towards the Forward Bloc will be. Till recently, I was of the opinion that I should keep out of the proposed Left Bloc and help in the task of Left consolidation from outside. The recent informal conference in Calcutta decided otherwise. It unanimously resolved to request me to join the Forward Bloc and help in the task of organizing and building it up. After deeply pondering over the matter I have decided to join it.

I shall now appeal to my countrymen to help us in the task that lies ahead of us, and particularly in the work of building up the Forward Bloc.

WHY I RESIGNED

THE VOTING at the last Presidential election was unexpected in many quarters. It indicated how the mind of the general public and of Congressmen in particular was working at the time. In my election appeal, I had stressed two principles to uphold which I would strive my utmost, *viz.*, democracy within the Congress and resistance to the Federal Scheme. There was no reflection at all either against Mahatma Gandhi or his principles or policy in any of my statements. Nevertheless, after the result was declared, Mahatmaji issued a statement declaring that the defeat of Dr. Pattabhi was his own defeat. This came as an utter surprise to everybody. Those Congressmen who had faith in Mahatmaji personally, but not in the High Command, were affected by this statement and withdrew their support from me. There is no doubt that a large majority of the Congressmen who disliked the High Command did not want to give up Mahatma Gandhi.

When I met Mahatma Gandhi at Wardha on February 15, he suggested that I should form a new Working Committee, without the old members who followed the High Command. We had a long discussion on the question of a homogeneous *vs.* a composite cabinet. Towards the end of our conversation I said that I would try my best to persuade Sardar Patel and others to remain on the Working Committee. Mahatmaji said that he had no objection if I could persuade them to do so.

My unfortunate illness intervened and I could not meet the members of the Working Committee when they met at Wardha for the meeting on February 22. On that day they sent in their resignation. What happened thereafter at Tripuri is too fresh in everybody's mind to need re-narrating.

After the Tripuri Congress, I was too ill to meet Mahatma Gandhi. He wanted me to go to Delhi and stay there, but my doctors thought that hat was not possible. They sent a long telegram to Mahatmaji explaining my condition and suggested that we should try correspondence instead. About a fortnight later when I was somewhat better and I found that our correspondence was not leading to a settlement, I became eager for a personal discussion with him. I was so frantic in my desire to meet him that I was prepared to defy the doctors and go to Delhi for a couple of days. Unfortunately, Mahatmaji had to leave for Rajkot suddenly and we could not meet.

Excerpts from speech at Hazra Park, Calcutta, on May 16, 1939, explaining the reasons for his resignation a week earlier from Presidentship of the Congress

Then came our meeting in Calcutta on April 27. Mahatmaji's position was virtually the same as at Wardha on February 15, and as he had consistently adopted in his letters to me in March and April. He wanted me to appoint a new Working Committee leaving out the members who had resigned. For reasons which I detailed in my letters to him and in my statements before the All-India Congress Committee on April 29, I could not accept his advice. Such a Committee would not have commanded Mahatmaji's confidence and would have, therefore, militated against the requirements of Pandit Pant's resolution. Moreover, it would have been contrary to my own views, because I believed in the principle of a composite cabinet as being in the best interest of the country. Consequently, I repeatedly requested Mahatmaji in my letters and my talks in Calcutta to undertake the responsibility vested in him by the Tripuri Congress and announce the personnel of the Working Committee.

Any decision of his would have been binding on me. When in Calcutta he finally declined to undertake this task we arrived at a deadlock. There appeared no other alternative but to place the matter before the All-India Congress Committee. At this juncture it was suggested that I should discuss the matter with Dr. Rajendra Prasad and other members of the old Congress Working Committee and endeavour to arrive at an arrangement as to the personnel of the new Committee. I told Gandhiji that I would gladly do so. If this attempt had succeeded I would have placed our informal agreement before the A I.C.C. for formal ratification. But unfortunately we could not arrive at a settlement. The question now is: who is responsible for it?

Negotiations commenced first with Dr. Rajendra Prasad. I suggested that four new members should be taken on the Committee and I suggested four names. My proposal assured a majority in the Working Committee to the members who had resigned, but provided at the same time for fresh blood. After some discussion at Sodepur we moved to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's residence for a further talk. There I was told that the names I had suggested were not acceptable. Some other names were proposed instead and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's name was suggested for the office of the General Secretary. I warmly welcomed the idea and pressed Panditji to accept it. Before we could arrive at a definite conclusion, we again adjourned for a discussion with Mahatmaji.

When we resumed the thread of our discussion at Sodepur we were faced with an entirely new proposal, *viz.*, that the old Working Committee should be reappointed *en bloc.* I had gathered from our earlier talks that there was no serious objection to the principle of having four new members and that the disagreement was about the names only. I was naturally staggered when this new suggestion was mooted and was

supported by Gandhiji. I was told that some time later two vacancies would occur and two new members could be taken in their places. On further enquiry I was told that that was the maximum number of new members I could have. I wanted to know if these two new members could be appointed right at the beginning, but the reply was in the negative. To clarify the position further, I enquired if, in the two vacancies which would occur later on, my nominees would be acceptable to them, and I suggested two names in this connection. Both these names were turned down. Then I inquired if out of the two new members, I could have a second Secretary of my choice who could be stationed in Calcutta. I told them that formerly there used to be three Secretaries and I proposed to have two this year—one to be stationed at Allahabad and the other at Calcutta. This was absolutely necessary in order to help me in my work. Once again my proposal was turned down.

When we reached this stage in our negotiations I told Mahatmaji that it was quite clear that in no single detail was my proposal acceptable to the others. In the total absence of the spirit of accommodation on the other side, I did not see how we could work together in future. I had no desire to remain a dummy President, or to hang on to office at any cost. I would, therefore, place my resignation in the hands of the All-India Congress Committee and thereby enable them to take steps to elect a new President and a new Working Committee. I have no doubt in my mind that in submitting my resignation I adopted the right course.

It was not possible for me to appoint a purely Leftist cabinet not only because that was against my conviction, but also because it would have been in contravention of the Pant resolution which I had previously declared I would implement. I should add in this connection that I had explicitly asked Mahatmaji if he would empower me to announce before the A-I.C.C. that a Leftist cabinet of my choice commanded his implicit confidence—in case I accepted his advice regarding a homogeneous Leftist cabinet and gave effect to that advice. Mahatmaji could not empower me to do so; consequently the appointment of a homogeneous Leftist cabinet would have amounted to an open defiance of the Tripuri Congress resolution.

As I have repeatedly declared, my resignation was decided upon in an entirely helpful spirit and, in my view, will prove to be in the best interest of the country. Self-respect, honour and duty towards my country demanded that I should resign, after having made all possible attempts to reach an honourable compromise and to avert a crisis within the Congress.

THE FORWARD BLOC'S PROGRAMME

THERE IS a two-fold distinction. Firstly, the Forward Bloc desires to work the existing programme of the Congress, not with a reformist or moderate mentality, but with a revolutionary mentality. Secondly, it has an advanced programme of its own, which it will try and persuade the Congress to accept. This advanced programme will have as its objective the early attainment of India's independence.

The Forward Bloc, being a platform for all anti-imperialist, radical and progressive groups, including the Socialist Party, will naturally have a friendly attitude towards the existing Leftist parties or groups in the Congress. It will not do anything consciously to weaken or undermine them. The Forward Bloc expects to have members from these parties or groups.

There is no doubt that for some time past we have been drifting towards constitutionalism. This tendency has been considerably accentuated since Congressmen took ministerial office in several provinces. The truly Gandhian spirit of non-violent non-co-operation is being smothered by the newly developed parliamentarian constitutionalist mentality, which is none other than a moderate mentality.

The two-fold task of the Forward Bloc will consequently be: firstly, to instil life and revolutionary impulse into the existing programme of the Congress, and, secondly, to prepare the country for the coming struggle through countrywide agitation and through an advanced radical programme. This advanced programme the Congress will be persuaded to accept in December, if only we do the necessary propaganda and agitation from now.

If it be found ultimately that our parliamentary machinery is incapable of any further advance or any forward move in the battle of freedom, we may have to discard it and fall back exclusively on a mass movement leading on to a mass satyagraha.

I shall mention a few items of the programme. It will be necessary to raise and equip a Congress Volunteer Corps on an all-India basis and develop closer and intimate contacts with other anti-imperialist organizations such as the Kisan Sabha, Trade Union Congress, youth league and student movements, if we want to mobilize all the available revolutionary energy of the nation. In organizing the Forward Bloc we intend taking practical steps towards establishment of contact between the Congress and other anti-imperialist organizations.

Excerpts from remarks at a public meeting in Howrah on May 8, 1939 and at a gathering of journalists in Kanpur on May 18, 1939

A further item will be the establishment of closer relationship between the Congress and States peoples' movements. We are of definite opinion that a sub-committee of the Congress should formulate a comprehensive programme for helping and guiding the people's movement in the six hundred odd States. This plan should be given effect to simultaneously all over the country.

Apart from this we would devote our attention to the minority problem, particularly the Hindu-Muslim question. In spite of assurances given to minorities and Muslims in particular, through several successive resolutions of the Congress, the fact remains that we have not succeeded in rallying them to a common platform. The announcement of the formation of the Forward Bloc has evoked such favourable reactions from minority communities that we are led to hope that, through the instrumentality of the Forward Bloc and its radical programme, we may be able to establish real unity.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

COMRADES ! Early in May 1939, the Forward Block of the Indian National Congress was inaugurated in Calcutta following a momentous session of the All-India Congress Committee. In the last week of June 1939, the first session of the All-India Conference of the Forward Bloc was held in Bombay and the constitution and programme of the Bloc were adopted there. Since then, a year has rolled by—a year which will be memorable not only in the history of India but in the history of the whole world We are, therefore, meeting at a most opportune moment. We shall have to do a great deal of heart-searching as well as stock-taking We shall have to determine our course of action in the crisis which has overtaken India and the world, a crisis which is deepening and worsening, not only from day to day but also from hour to hour.

The first question which I shall pose before you is. "Has our policy and line of action been a correct one? And have we acted in the best interests of the country by launching the Forward Bloc?" To that my reply is: "Most certainly, yes." I shall remind you that we were constrained to start the Forward Bloc in the light of four considerations. The Right Wing had definitely told us that they would not work in co-operation with the Leftists in future, and they had rejected the proposal of a composite cabinet which was our demand. Secondly, Mahatma Gandhi and the Right Wing had told us that a national struggle in the near future was out of the question Thirdly, the attempt to consolidate the anti-imperialist and radical elements in the Congress under the name of the Left Bloc had been given up by the Socialists and Communists. Consequently, a further attempt at Left consolidation could be made only by us and, for that, the Forward Bloc had become indispensably necessary. Fourthly, the Right-wingers had already consolidated themselves under the aegis of the Gandhi Seva Sangh and any further delay on our part would have meant the strangling of the Leftist elements in the Congress by the Rightists.

It was clear in 1939 that most of those who had entered the Congress as Leftists in 1920 and 1921, and had retained the leadership of the Congress in their hands for nearly two decades, had ceased to be revolutionary or even radical. Any further political progress under such circumstances presupposed a consolidation of all anti-imperialist, radical and progressive forces in the country and particularly in the Congress.

Presidential address at the All-India Forward Bloc Conference Nagpur, June 18, 1940

Towards the end of April 1939, when I was seriously considering the idea of resigning the presidentship of the Congress and inaugurating the Forward Bloc, I had an interesting and important discussion with a very prominent Leftist leader of the Congress who has since then thrown himself into the arms of the Gandhiites. He advised me to refrain from either course and he added that since an international storm was brewing, we should avoid everything in the nature of a split within the Congress I replied saying that since a war was inevitable in the near future, it was all the more necessary that the Leftists should be organised and prepared in advance, so that in the event of the Rightists developing cold feet in a war situation, we at least could do something off our own bat. Differences had become so fundamental between the Right Wing and Left Wing that a split—whether permanent or temporary—had become inevitable. That being the case, it was desirable that the internal crisis should come and should be transcended before the external or international crisis overtook us I added that if I accepted my friend's advice and lay low for the present, the consequences would be far worse for us when the international crisis appeared. In such a crisis, we would never agree with the Rightists. But many people would blame us for causing a split, if we attempted to act on our own at that time. Moreover, if we did want to act independently then we would have no organization behind us to fall back on. Consequently, the argument of my friend only strengthened my case.

Looking back on the last twelve months, can we not claim that events have justified our policy and line of action? Barring the Kisan Sabha of Swami Sahajanand (and Prof. Ranga, Comrade Yajnik, etc.) and the Forward Bloc, who is there to stand up to the Rightists today? The Left Consolidation Committee which came into existence in June 1939, after the formation of the Forward Bloc, has disintegrated by now. The Royists (or Radical Leaguers), the Congress Socialists and the Communists (or National Fronters) have in turn deserted the Left Consolidation Committee and only the Kisan Sabha and Forward Bloc have been functioning as the spearhead of the left movement in this country. This was evident when we held the All-India Anti-Compromise Conference at Ramgarh in March 1940. There we found that the Royists, Congress Socialists and National Fronters boycotted that Conference and threw in their lot with the Gandhiites

There can be little doubt today that if there had been no Forward Bloc and no Kisan Sabha, no voice would have been raised against the policy and the line of action pursued by the Gandhiites during the last 12 months.

We shall now consider another question: "What has been our actual achievement during the past year?"

In the first place we can claim to have successfully resisted the ten-

dency towards constitutionalism and compromise within the ranks of the Congress. Thanks to our efforts, the Congress Ministries had to vacate office as a protest against the policy of the British Government. If they had not done so, they would have been carrying out the war policy of the Government of India. as agents of British Imperialism. In spite of all efforts made hitherto, no compromise has yet been made with the British Government, and for this we can legitimately claim some credit.

Secondly, we have so far frustrated all attempts to secure the co-operation of the Congress in the prosecution of the war. Friends will remember that in September 1939, when His Excellency the Viceroy invited Mahatma Gandhi for a talk at Simla on the war situation, the latter gave out that he was of the view that India should give unconditional help to Great Britain during the present war. This was reiterated by Mahatmaji in a Press statement issued soon after the above interview. Nevertheless, up till now, the Congress Working Committee, which usually follows Gandhiji blindly, has ignored his views on such an all-important issue. Would the same thing have happened if there had been no Kisan Sabha and no Forward Bloc?

Thirdly, we can perhaps claim that we have succeeded in creating an atmosphere of struggle. Today we find Congress leaders drilling in shirts and shorts and Congress Committees being converted into "Satyagraha" Committees. Moreover, the Rightist leaders have been constantly talking of a struggle. Would all these have taken place, if there had been no Forward Bloc and if the Anti-Compromise Conference at Ramgarh had not shown which way the wind of public opinion was blowing? There is no doubt that today the talk of a struggle is everywhere in the air and the more our people talk of it, the more will they move away from a compromise.

Lastly, we can claim that at Ramgarh we launched our struggle with such strength and resources as we possessed. During the last three months a large number of our fellow-workers, including men of outstanding influence in the country, have been arrested and incarcerated. Nine members of the All-India Working Committee of the Forward Bloc are at present in prison or internment. In addition to them, leaders of the Kisan Sabha headed by Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, Prof. Ranga and others, are behind the bars.

The national struggle we launched at Ramgarh has been steadily gaining in strength and volume. The campaign has made considerable headway in Bihar and the United Provinces. In Bengal, the struggle was launched as early as January 1940 over the question of civil liberty, which had been violated by the drastic ordinances promulgated by the Government in September 1939. Thanks to the civil disobedience movement launched by the Bengal Congress, we have restored in a large mea-

sure the *status quo* which existed prior to September 1939. The special session of the Bengal Provincial Political Conference which met at Dacca on the 25th and 26th of May, 1940 took stock of the situation in the province and formulated a plan for intensifying the struggle and widening its scope. The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee will give effect to this plan.

Before I proceed to deal with the international situation, I shall refer to one or two criticisms which are constantly levelled at us. We are told, for instance, that we have created a split in the Congress. The fact, however, is that it is the Gandhiites who have created a split by refusing to co-operate with the Leftists. We have all along been strongly in favour of joint action and a composite cabinet for ensuring such action.

We are also told that we have brought disruption within the ranks of the Leftists. But it is not we who have caused disruption or disunity. The Royists, the Congress Socialists and the National Fronters (or Communists) have, one after another, deserted the Left Consolidation Committee.

We stand today exactly where we did twelve months ago. During these months, we have passed through an ordeal. Suffering, persecution, banter, ridicule—such has been our lot. But we have gone ahead along the path of uncompromising struggle in a most unflinching manner. Numerous fellow-workers of ours have been persecuted by the Congress High Command and in the province of Bengal, owing to the disaffiliation of the Provincial Congress Committee, all Congressmen of our way of thinking have been virtually thrown out of the Congress.

The question which will naturally arise at this stage is: "Why have the Royists and others deserted us?" So far as I can judge, they are afraid of being expelled from the Congress and they feel, perhaps, that once outside the Congress they will be completely lost. What amuses me, however, is that these comrades had been hoping to fight the Rightists and had not anticipated that before being defeated by the Leftists, the Rightists would do their worst and would do all in their power to maintain their supremacy in the Congress. The backbone, the stamina and the toughness that are needed in order to fight the Rightists successfully, these Leftist (or shall I say pseudo-Leftist?) comrades do not possess. We are now passing through a phase of our struggle when history [illegible] will put all of us to the test and declare to the world as to [illegible] Leftists in India are.

[illegible] told that without the help of the Gandhiites the struggle [illegible] will prove to be a failure. To this allegation, our [illegible]: it is [illegible] to say whether our struggle will be [illegible]. That [illegible] on whether the masses will join [illegible] to [illegible] masses to rally round

With Mahatma Gandhi at the Haripura Congress Session, February 1938

With Sardar Patel and Acharya Kripalani at the Tripuri Congress Session, March 1939

the banner of a non-violent struggle. Let us, therefore, hold ourselves in patience yet awhile.

But supposing for argument's sake that the struggle will fail, does that mean that it should not have been launched? Could we not argue, on the opposite side, that the campaigns of 1921, 1930 and 1932 should not have been launched because they did not bring us Swaraj? Failures are often the pillars of success. So what does it matter if we fail for the fourth time? Not to try at all is more dishonourable than making the attempt and failing to achieve success. The whole world is watching us today. What will the free nations of the world think of us if we miss the golden opportunity that has now come—an opportunity that is rare in the lifetime of any nation? But nobody will think ill of us if we fight and then fail.

There is another point which we should not overlook either. Shall we not consider what posterity will think of us twenty or fifty years hence if we do not acquit ourselves manfully today? What do people today think of the leaders who mismanaged the affairs of the country between 1914 and 1919? I, therefore, make bold to say that if we do not rise to the occasion and join the struggle without delay, neither history nor posterity will ever pardon us.

Twelve months ago when the Forward Bloc was formed we were obsessed, as it were, with the idea of the coming struggle and how to prepare for it in advance. At that time we did not know how far, if at all, outside events and international developments would aid us in our efforts to win Purna Swaraj. Consequently, we had to make "self-reliance" our motto in life and action.

Today, the situation has altered to some extent. In the war between rival imperialisms, the old ones have been faring very badly indeed. During the last few weeks the Germans have carried on the campaign with lightning rapidity. Kings and kingdoms have toppled down in the course of a few days and the German Army—the Reichswehr—has proceeded to the gates of Paris and occupied that queen of cities in a way which appears to the layman as a miracle in military warfare.

What has been happening in Europe in a kaleidoscopic manner has had its inevitable repercussions on India.

The wheels of history are grinding on, quite regardless of what we may be doing in India. But in order to fully utilize the opportunity which international events have presented to us, we must have sufficient unity and solidarity among ourselves. If India could speak with one voice today, our demand would indeed be well-nigh irresistible. It follows, as a consequence, that while we should think of intensifying the national struggle and widening its scope, we should at the same time try to develop national unity and solidarity to the maximum limit.

National unity will presuppose unity within the Congress on the

basis of a dynamic programme of struggle and at the same time unity between the Congress and other organizations like the Muslim League

If we can develop sufficient unity and solidarity among ourselves in good time, we may very well hope that even if the country passes through a struggle and even if catastrophic events take place in Europe, the transference of power from the hands of British Imperialism to those of the Indian people will take place in a peaceful manner.

It is not necessary that the Indian revolution should be a bloody one or that it should pass through a period of chaos. On the contrary, it is desirable that it should be as peaceful as possible; and a peaceful transition can be ensured if the people are united and are determined to have their freedom.

My own suggestion to you is that we should immediately go out into the country with the rallying cry—"All power to the Indian people". This will galvanize the masses in a moment. In order to put forward this demand in an effective and irresistible manner, we should leave no stone unturned in our effort to attain national unity. This effort will necessitate the setting up of a machinery which will preserve harmony and goodwill among the people under all circumstances. Such a machinery will be provided by a Citizens' Defence Corps organized on an all-party basis

But such a Corps should be quite independent of the Government. Our Citizens' Defence Corps will only aim at preserving internal peace, harmony and goodwill. The question of defending the country militarily from any other force or power is one which should concern the Government only.

Before coming to the epilogue of this address, which will be a consideration of the international situation of today and tomorrow, I should like to remind you of the historical role of the Forward Bloc. The Bloc has come into being as the result of historical necessity. It is not the creation of an individual or of a group of individuals. So long as it will serve a historical purpose, it will live and thrive—despite all obstacles, internal or external.

We should also bear in mind that the Forward Bloc will have a role to play in the post-struggle phase of our history. It will have to preserve liberty after winning it and it will have to build up a new India and a happy India on the basis of the eternal principles of liberty, democracy and socialism.

Let us not commit the fatal mistake of thinking that our mission will be over, once we win our freedom. The organization or party that wins freedom must undertake the responsibilities of post-war reconstruction. Only in this manner will continuity of progress be maintained.

Let us now proceed to consider the international situation as we find it today and as it will probably be tomorrow. After reading the outspoken

statements of Messrs. Winston Churchill and Paul Reynaud we cannot blink the prime facts of the situation as they emerge from the quick tempo of war. Every day makes it more clear that M. Paul Reynaud's summing up of the situation in the Chamber of Deputies (that victory for the Allies could only be brought about by a miracle) was a true measure of the military conditions then obtaining. Dark as was the picture then, it has grown darker since. The prospect today is positively bleak. And when one remembers this is a totalitarian war, it dawns on us how impossible is the situation in which the losing side is placed.

We may also concede that Monsieur Reynaud's ringing resolution "to intensity the struggle and not to give up" is brave and resolute, and his words not empty heroics. For all that, he fails to convince when he says: "We will shut ourselves into one of our provinces and if we are driven out we will go to North Africa and if necessary into our possessions in America."

Today we have every right to examine the stark realities of the war as it has developed until we see them in the white light of clarity. The leaders of the French and British peoples have been frank We should also be frank with ourselves.

The cause of the Allies' continuous defeat seems to be lodged somewhere in their system. It was a system which Mr. Clement Attlee, speaking, I believe, for the last time from the Opposition benches, said had failed to meet the need of the crisis.

It was the fundamental weakness of a system in which slavery and freedom existed side by side that had resulted in British being "decisively beaten" on the propaganda front. This was, what the *Daily Mail* said was happening. Propaganda radiocasts from the Reich, it wrote at the end of March, were "influencing not only the civilian population of Britain, but also our armed forces." Goebbels, it asserted, had had a walk-over.

But we are not so much interested in a particular method as in the basic principles of action. And we are not to be dissuaded from pressing home our demand for the admission of our fundamental rights by a clouding of the issues and the cry of 'saboteur!' We have too long been taken in by the clever imperialist propaganda.

We cannot but ask ourselves where we stand in this international flux. Some of our statesmen, it seems have been possessed with the dream of India being converted into a bastion of democratic resistance against the dictators' hordes. What a grotesque picture!

Almost the whole of the English Channel coast on the French side is in the hands of the Germans, making ordinary communications difficult and hazardous and the transport of troops all but impossible. Some of the best industrial regions of France are in the hands of the invaders. Paris, the heart of France, has ceased to throb. In the Champagne re-

gion a powerful German drive is developing to isolate the Maginot Line from the rest of France. In the south-east the powerful and fresh Italian legions are pressing. And everywhere the retreating French forces are harried by the admittedly superior air arm of the admittedly superior Reichswehr. Such is the gloomy picture of the Allied position in Europe. From the Northern Arctic regions to the Atlantic, the Nazi eagle has spread its wings in an unbroken line. It is not surprising we should be told that there is no cause for optimism.

When the Nazi hordes crossed the German frontier into Holland and Belgium only the other day with the cry of "nach Paris" on their lips, who could have dreamt that they would reach their objective so soon? A miracle in military warfare has happened, as it were, before our eyes, and for an analogy one has to turn to the Napoleonic wars or to the catastrophe at Sedan in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870. Whatever the French High Command may say, in the face of mechanized transport, innumerable tanks and dive-bombers, no resistance worth the name is possible after the capitulation of Paris. The days of French warfare are over.

But what next? The British people are famous for their dogged pertinacity and their unflinching nerves. They are now confronted with what is perhaps the severest ordeal in their history. Let us see how they will acquit themselves.

India must in this grave crisis think of herself first. If she can win freedom now and then save herself, she will best serve the cause of humanity. It is for the Indian people to make an immediate demand for the transference of power to them through a Provisional National Government No constitutional difficulties can be put forward by the British Government with a view to resisting this demand, because legislation for this purpose can be put through Parliament in twenty-four hours. When things settle down inside India and abroad, the Provisional National Government will convene a Constituent Assembly for framing a full-fledged Constitution for this country.

Friends, these are some of my thoughts and suggestions. I hope and trust that you will give them due consideration. In any case, I appeal to you not to leave Nagpur till you have in your pockets a concrete plan of action for winning Purna Swaraj in the immediate future.

Let us proclaim once again—"All power to the Indian people here, and now."

NO ENEMY OUTSIDE INDIA'S FRONTIERS

FRIENDS! The fall of Singapore has been hastily followed by the collapse of other military bases of Britain's imperialistic Allies in East Asia. The Japanese capture of Rangoon has revived the hopes of freedom of the Burmese. They will again breathe a free atmosphere, just as they did when they were a free nation. The prophecy which the German Foreign Minister made, on November 26, 1939, is proving true. How prophetic were his words when he said that Britain would lose her military bases one by one! The British Empire stands threatened in every quarter. The flame of British glory is flickering. Their days are numbered.

As usual, the British have been striving desperately since the outbreak of the present hostilities to cajole other people into shedding their blood and supplying armaments to the British for the successful prosecution of the war. But their efforts have failed. They are facing disaster and disgrace on all fronts.

Since September 1939, the Indians have been entreating the British Government to apply the principles of freedom and democracy to India, and thus give practical proof of their honesty and goodwill towards them. Some Indian nationalists even went to the extent of announcing that, should the British satisfy their national aspirations, they would be prepared to help them in this war. To this appeal British statesmen paid no heed. They never gave an unambiguous reply which would have earned the goodwill of Indians. With characteristic hypocrisy and fraud, they have again made an obscure declaration

Throughout their rule in India, the British have been seeking to create disunity among Indians. They have succeeded to some extent in this object and, on the plea of disunity among the various sections of the people, they have consistently refused to grant self-government to India. There is no end to British intrigues. Now they are making a lot of fuss over a possible enemy invasion of India.

It has been frequently argued that India's frontiers lie on the Suez Canal and in Hong Kong. On this pretext, the British

Broadcast from Berlin, March 13, 1942

carried Indian troops to the Libyan desert and France and caused their bloodshed. In the East, the Indians were sacrificed in Hong Kong and Singapore in utter disregard of Indian wishes Indian frontiers do not lie where Wavell has arbitrarily fixed them. This is only a mischievous invention of the British mind. India's geographical borders lie only where nature has created them. The Indians understand that they have no enemy outside the Indian frontiers.

The British have not changed their traditionally vicious policy Indian troops are being recalled, since it is being said that the war is threatening the very gates of India. Here the question arises as to who is responsible for involving India in the war. Had not India's entry into the war been arbitrarily decided, her wealth and raw materials been tapped, her geographical situation been exploited for using her as a military base and unlike Eire, her freedom of action been usurped, she would have never been a party to the present war. Every deceptive weapon was employed against her in order to convert her into a military base and to exact the greatest possible help from the Indians.

Friends, the proper moment for valuing British manoeuvres at their real worth and for learning the nature of their tricks has arrived. They are only anxious to spread war to India, which has already been made a belligerent country. No one should be surprised to learn of these age-old British tactics, in pursuance of which they have been continuously seeking to drag other nations into their wars

My Indian brothers, it is not worthwhile to hope that the British will ever be able to help you in keeping hostilities beyond the frontiers of India. Rather, they will continually undertake to destroy India, and will not desist from resorting to the 'scorched-earth' policy in our country as well. The British Empire was founded on relentless plundering of weak nations. So long as it is in their power they will persist in the exploitation of subject nations. If the Indians took it to their heart that their country should be safe from danger, their first duty would be to carry out a thorough destruction of British military objectives in India, and prevent India's raw material, wealth and youth from being harnessed by the British to their war effort.

Friends, it is crystal clear that in British decline alone lies the hope of India's independence. Every Indian who works to strengthen British hands betrays the cause of his motherland. Such a man is a traitor to India. Whoever opposes Indian patriots and sides with the British is no better than a Mir Jafar or an Umi Chand of the present generation.

Brothers and sisters, everyone of you should understand that to come to terms with the British, who are about to perish, is a ridiculous commitment in the eyes of the world Churchill has recently

announced the possibility of granting Dominion Status to India as soon as it is feasible. He has commanded Cripps to go out to India in order to bring together the various Indian political parties, and to find out what measure of power should be granted to the Indians under the present circumstances. No sane Indian can be pleased with this latest British offer. Today, no Indian is prepared to trust empty British promises of freedom after the war. Every Indian politician knows that the British always aim at the policy of 'Divide and Rule' in India. So long as their foot remains on Indian soil they will never abandon their vicious policies. Churchill and his Government will, before long, come to realize that Indians can no longer be hoodwinked by them. Brothers and sisters, I am witnessing, with my own eyes, the downfall of the British Empire. If Cripps or any other British statesman comes out to India, the Indians cannot evince any interest in him.

In the present world struggle one group of nations is trying to maintain the power it achieved as a sequel to the Versailles Treaty. The other group of nations is fighting with an iron will to eradicate the uphappy state of affairs looming large in the world and to establish a 'New Order'. Brothers and sisters, you stand to lose only one thing from this war, and that is your shackles. Indians cannot be satisfied with the present rotten world order. They can be happy only in a new and a better scheme of things which will rescue them from the jaws of destruction and serfdom. The war is bound to leave the British Empire in ruins and achieve that end.

The famous Tripartite Pact has been concluded to put an end to tyrannical British imperialism. The parties to this pact are our comrades. It is absolutely ridiculous to say that the combination of Axis Powers constitutes a menace to the freedom of India. The facts are quite different. I know these nations fully well, and I can assure you that they have great sympathy for the cause of our freedom. If anyone is doubtful on this point, he may be reminded of the recent statement of General Tojo, the Japanese Premier. Let me hope that my compatriots will no longer entertain any doubts about their goodwill towards us and yield to false Anglo-American propaganda Indians should be delighted with the brilliant victories which the Japanese are scoring against their enemies. The day when justice and equality will assert themselves is not far off. When that time comes, then alone will Indians be able to prosper and flourish in an atmosphere of freedom and justice

Long Live Revolution!

THE CRIPPS MISSION

THIS IS Subhas Chandra Bose, who is still alive, speaking to you over the Azad Hind Radio. British news agencies have spread all over the world the report that I died in an aeroplane crash on my way to Tokyo to attend an important conference there. Ever since I left India last year, British propaganda agencies have from time to time given contradictory reports of my whereabouts, while newspapers in England have not hesitated to use uncomplimentary language about me. The latest report about my death is perhaps an instance of wishful thinking. I can imagine that the British Government would, at this critical hour in India's history, like to see me dead since they are now trying their level best to win India over to their side for the purpose of their imperialistic war.

I have not before me the full particulars of the aeroplane disaster referred to above. I cannot, therefore, say if it was the result of sabotage on the part of our enemy. In any case, I beg to offer my respectful homage to the memory of those who lost their lives in that tragic event. Their names will be written in letters of gold in the history of our struggle for independence.

I have considered very carefully the offer of the British Government to India and the radio speech of Sir Stafford Cripps in that connection. I feel perfectly convinced that it is now quite clear that Sir Stafford has gone to India to try the age-long policy of British imperialism—'divide and rule'. Many people in India did not expect Sir Stafford Cripps to play a role which might very well have been reserved for a Conservative politician like Mr. Amery. Sir Stafford has himself assured us that the terms offered to India are, in his opinion, the soundest and the best, and that the members of the British Cabinet were all unanimous over these proposals.

This affords one further proof that, in Britain, all party differences disappear when the question of India comes up. Sir Stafford has told us that India is a sub-continent inhabited by many races and peoples. I would like to remind him that India was unified under the empire of Asoka the Great, several centuries before the Christian era—more than 1,000 years before England was unified.

Britain has, in other parts of her Empire, for instance in Ireland and Palestine, used the religious issue in order to divide the people. She has been utilizing in India for that same purpose not only this issue but other imperial weapons like the Indian Princes, Depressed Classes, etc. Now Sir Stafford is in India to use the same instruments

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for imperialistic ends. It is no less striking that Sir Stafford is applying the old imperialist policy of working for a compromise with one section of the people while simultaneously suppressing the other. That is why on the one side Sir Stafford is conferring with one set of politicians, while on the other the fearless and uncompromising fighters for independence are safely lodged behind prison bars. The Indian people are fully aware of this nefarious policy of British politicians. I have no doubt that the spirit of our freedom-fighters will hurl down the prison walls and inspire the people of India to know that this is an insult to India's self-respect and honour.

As the London paper, the *Daily Telegraph*, has remarked, Sir Stafford's proposals contain nothing that is fundamentally new. The essence is Dominion Status within the Empire, which will be realized only when the war is over. But according to the terms of the offer, the speech of Sir Stafford Cripps, and the comments of English papers like the *Manchester Guardian*, it is quite clear that the real intention of the British Government is to split India into a number of States, just as Ireland was spilt up at the end of the last war. I am doubtful whether India will even look at such an offer. Indians are by nature hospitable, and Sir Stafford will be committing a grievous mistake if he interpreted such hospitality to mean the acceptance of his offer.

Sir Stafford reached the height of imperialist hypocrisy when, at a press conference at Delhi, he remarked that Indians have not been able to produce an agreed constitution. But the Indian people know from their bitter experience that only the British Government is responsible for the corruption and bribery in India. The Indian people are, therefore, convinced that they can no longer hope to win their freedom by discussion or argument, propaganda and passive resistance, but must now resort to other methods that are more effective and powerful.

Sir Stafford also mentioned that while the war is going on a new constitution cannot be framed for India, and hence the inauguration of Dominion Status will begin on the termination of the war I may remind Sir Stafford Cripps that, as early as October 1939, I replied to the British Government by suggesting that a Provisional National Government, commanding the confidence of the majority of the people, should be set up at once. This Provisional National Government could be made responsible to the present Indian Legislative Assembly In other words, the Provisional National Government could be made responsible to the elected members of the Indian Assembly. This suggestion was first of all put forward by me on behalf of the Forward Bloc of the Congress, and it being practicable and reasonable, the official Congress Committee also adopted

it as their own demand. The fact, however, is that the British Government is not ready to part with power at the present moment. By raising the issue of the minorities or of the Princes or of the so-called Depressed Classes, they can at any time find a plea that Indians are not united. Sir Stafford must be living in a fool's paradise if he thinks that, by making such hopeless offers, he can satisfy India's hunger for freedom. In the last World War, with the help of India, the war was won by England but India's reward was further suppression and massacre. India has not forgotten those episodes, and she will see that the present golden opportunity is not lost.

Since the beginning of this century, the British Government has been using another organization as a counterblast to the Congress in order to reject its demands. It has been using the Muslim League for this purpose, because that party is regarded as pro-British in its outlook. In fact, British propaganda has tried to create the impression that the Muslim League is almost as influential a body as the Congress, and that it represents the majority of India's Muslims. This, however, is far from the truth. In reality there are several influential and important Muslim organizations which are thoroughly nationalist. Moreover, of the 11 provinces in British India, out of which only four have a majority of Muslims, only one, the Punjab, has a Cabinet which may be regarded as a Muslim League Cabinet But even the Punjab Premier is strongly opposed to the main programme of the Muslim League, namely the division of India. But even then it is said that the majority of the Muslims will not stand for Indian independence.

As far as the defence of India is concerned, it is stated in the British proposals that, so long as the war lasts, the full military control of India will be directly in the hands of Britain, not even in the hands of the Viceroy or the Commander-in-Chief in India. By this policy, Britain wants to achieve a two-fold purpose. She desires, on the one hand, to utilize to the fullest extent India's resources for the whole Empire, and, on the other, to force thereby the enemies of Britain to attack Britain's military base in India, so that the Indian people may be provoked into voluntarily entering the war as Britain's ally. I would like to affirm, with all the emphasis at my command, that all the pro-British Indians who are participating in Britain's war will alone be responsible if the war comes ultimately to India I would like further to warn my countrymen that Britain's sole object now is to drag the Indian people into the war. It has been a successful game of the British people to get other nations involved in the war. Up to the present time they have been carrying out glorious retreats and successful evacuations. Recently they have adopted a novel policy of burning and destroying everything before

taking to their heels. If the British Government apply these scorched-earth tactics to their own country, that is no concern of ours. But I have every reason to believe that they have decided to apply these scorched-earth tactics in Ceylon and India, should the war come there. Therefore, participation in Britain's war will not only hinder Britain's defeat and overthrow, but will also delay the attainment of independence for Indians

OPEN LETTER TO CRIPPS

Dear Sir Stafford Cripps,

THE WORLD has been told that you have undertaken a mission on behalf of the British Prime Minister and the Cabinet to go to India and try to save India for the British Empire. It is understandable that the present Prime Minister and the Cabinet should make use of you for this purpose. But it passes one's comprehension that you, Sir Stafford, should accept such a job. You are well aware of the reactionary character of the present Cabinet. The presence of the Labourites in it does not alter its real character. Having been forced to keep company with the Labour Party some years ago, you perhaps know, more than anybody, how unprogressive that party is, particularly on questions dealing with India and other suppressed nations of the Empire.

In the days when you fought with the British Labour Party in vindication of your own principles and convictions, you commanded the admiration of many people including myself. You have been so anti-imperialist in your outlook that you even advocated the abolition of the monarchy which has served as the corner-stone of British Imperialism. That fundamental position of yours has altered so radically that you accepted a portfolio under Mr. Winston Churchill, than whom a more anti-Indian Englishman it is difficult to find in the whole of Britain. People who know you personally, or who have followed your career with interest, are consequently quite puzzled at your present political stand. One can easily understand Mr. Churchill. He is an imperialist believing in the policy of brute force, and he makes no bones about it. Even the British Labour Party's attitude we can perhaps understand. British Labour leaders are in reality as imperialistic as the Conservatives are, though they may talk in a more polite and seductive manner. We have faced the Labour Party's administration in 1924 and again from 1929 to 1931.

On both these occasions we had to spend our time in British prisons, sometimes without any trial whatsoever. India will never forget that between 1929 and 1931 a Labour Cabinet was responsible for putting about 100,000 men and women into prison, for ordering large-scale lathi charges on men and women all over the country, for the shooting down of defenceless crowds as in Peshawar, and for burning houses and dishonouring women as in the villages

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of Bengal. You were one of the sharpest critics of the Labour Party when, in London in January 1938, I had the pleasure of making your acquaintance. But today you appear to be quite a different man.

You may perhaps say that your task is to bring about a reconciliation between India and England. But your Cabinet has made it perfectly clear that the offer to India is not one of independence but of Dominion Status within the Empire, and further, that Dominion Status will be promulgated not immediately but at the end of the war. You have just declared in Delhi that your attitude towards India is the same as that of Mr. Churchill We are grateful to you for such frankness but are you not aware what the Indian people think of British promises? Are you not also aware that the history of British rule in India is a history of broken pledges and unredeemed promises? And knowing as you do that the Indian National Congress stands for undiluted independence, is it not an insult to India that a man of your position and reputation should go out there with such an offer in his pocket?

Another matter which has pained all patriotic Indians is that your programme is to get in touch with leaders of all possible parties in India, no matter whether they are representatives of the masses or individuals. You at least should be aware that some of these parties have so far been used by British politicians as a counterblast to the Congress and in order to minimize its influence and importance. It is also surprising that you are reassuring the Princes that they have nothing to fear from the coming changes. Your work in respect of Princes was already taken in hand by the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, in anticipation of your arrival. To a neutral observer therefore, your role appears to be the same historic role of deceit and duplicity which British politicians have played in the past.

At the beginning of this war British politicians talked very loudly of freedom and democracy. At the same time, they have been bolstering up the claims of minorities in order to exaggerate India's differences, and thereby keep India under perpetual domination. The minorities problem is not something peculiar to India, it is to be found all the world over. If British politicians really believe in democracy why don't they apply the democratic solution to India and solve the Indian problem?

British politicians and the British propaganda machine have been continually reminding us since 1939 that the Axis Powers are a menace to India and now we are being told that India is in danger of an attack by the enemy. But is not this sheer hypocrisy? India has no enemies outside her own frontiers. Her one enemy is British imperialism and the only adversary that India has to get

nd of is the perpetual aggression of British imperialism. It was the British Government that declared India to be a belligerent power, against the will of the Indian people, and has since then been forcibly exploiting the resources of India for Britain's war purposes. Further, it was the same Government that interned and imprisoned in India the nationals of Germany, Italy and Japan after the outbreak of war. The Axis Powers and the Indian people realize that they are not at war with one another, and the former have not, therefore, imprisoned Indian nationals living in their countries, and have nothing but sympathy and goodwill for them. I am convinced that if India does not participate in Britain's war there is not the least possibility of India being attacked by any of the Axis Powers.

THANK YOU, JAPAN !

THIS IS Subhas Chandra Bose speaking to you over the Azad Hind Radio in reply to the historic declaration of the Prime Minister of Japan.

His Excellency the Prime Minister of Japan, General Tojo, has after the fall of Singapore and of Rangoon, made two historic pronouncements on the Indian problem. These declarations are of such great significance that it is necessary for India to state in reply what her attitude is. On behalf of all freedom-loving Indians in India and abroad, I offer my sincere thanks to the Japanese Prime Minister for his outspoken sympathy for Indian independence. The slogan he has uttered, 'India for the Indians', will go down in history as the prophetic utterance of a far-seeing statesman. Ever since the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905, the Indian people have looked upon the awakening in Japan with admiration. It was through Japan that Asia first asserted her self-respect and honour. A strong Japan therefore, is in the best interests of Asia.

I welcome most heartily the statement of His Excellency the Prime Minister that Japan is determined to destroy completely the influence of Anglo-American imperialism in the East. Until this is done, Asia will be under a perpetual danger. Asia, and particularly India, will be for ever grateful to the Tripartite Powers if they can dispose of this menace once for all. The present war which the Tripartite Powers are waging against Britain and America is of vital interest to India, and the Indian people are, therefore, following with joy and satisfaction the continued defeats of the Anglo-American forces.

It will be wrong for me to ignore the fact that there is a certain section among the Indian people that is, for some reason or other, on the side of Britain. This is but natural in a country that has been so long under a foreign yoke. But I may say without the slightest exaggeration that the vast majority of the Indian people are burning with the desire to break their shackles of bondage. For them this war is a God-sent opportunity for realizing their long-cherished aspirations and achieving independence.

The people of India remember quite clearly how they were deceived and betrayed by British politicians during the last World War. They have no desire to repeat that experience. They know that British rule in India has been one long record of broken pledges and unredeemed promises. They have, therefore, resolved

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to liquidate once for all the British regime in India, which was born of robbery and corruption and which has thrived on injustice and oppression.

I can assure His Excellency the Prime Minister that India will not miss this golden opportunity, which is indeed rare in the lifetime of a nation. The people of India are today fully conscious of the factors that are primarily responsible for her servitude and her isolation from the rest of the world and her internal disunity. This lesson, which they have learnt from bitter and painful experience, they will never forget. As in the old days, when India was a free, proud and progressive nation, so also in future will the Indian people live in the closest friendship with all the other nations of the world, and in particular with the Tripartite Powers, and thereby contribute to the common culture and civilization of humanity It will be an honour and privilege for India to co-operate intimately with Japan in the noble task of creating a great Asia that will be free, happy and prosperous

Inquilab Zindabad! Azad Hind Zindabad!

INDIA HAS BUT ONE ENEMY

INSPITE OF British propaganda, it should be clear to all right thinking Indians that in this wide world India has but one enemy, the enemy who has exploited her for over a hundred years, the enemy who sucks the life-blood of Mother India, British Imperialism.

I am not an apologist of the Tripartite Powers; that is not my job. My concern is with India. When British Imperialism is defeated India will get her freedom. If, on the other hand, British Imperialism should somehow win the war, then India's slavery would be perpetuated for ever. India is, therefore, presented with the choice between freedom and slavery. She must make her choice.

Britain's paid propagandists have been calling me an enemy agent. I need no credentials when I speak to my own people. My whole life is one long, persistent, uncompromising struggle against British Imperialism, and is the best guarantee of my bona fides. All my life I have been the servant of India. Until the last hour of my life I shall remain one. My allegiance and loyalty have ever been and will ever be to India alone, no matter in which part of the world I may live.

If you make a dispassionate and objective study of the different theatres of war to-day, you will come to the same conclusion as myself—that nothing on earth can prevent the rapid collapse of the British Empire. Already the outposts in the Indian Ocean have passed out of the hands of British sea-power. Mandalay has fallen and Allied troops are practically expelled from Burmese soil

Countrymen, as the British Empire disappears, the day of India's deliverance approaches. I want to remind you that in the year 1857 began India's first War of Independence. In 1942 has begun her last war of Independence. Gird up your loins. The hour of India's salvation is at hand.

Azad Hind! Fight and win India's liberty, and then build up India with full freedom to determine her own future—with no interference! Free India will have a social order based on the internal principles of Justice, Equality and Fraternity.

From a broadcast from Berlin, April 20, 1942

JAPAN HAS NO DESIGNS ON INDIA

MY COMPATRIOTS, we are now engaged in the task of liberating our motherland. In this great task, Japan is assisting us. I can assure you that Japan has no aggressive designs on our country.

General Tojo, the Prime Minister of Japan, has repeatedly asserted the slogan of 'India for Indians' and has also explained its significance. In our struggle to free ourselves from the bonds of slavery, Japan will give us full support and assistance.

We must have full faith in Japan. The Japanese will bombard all the army and naval bases of the Britishers in India. My Indian brothers, you should not misunderstand these aerial attacks. By destroying the British bases, the Japanese are only removing the impediments to the progress of the overseas Indian national armies. Japan is our ally, our helper. Co-operate with the Japanese in order to eliminate British domination and establish a New Order.

As an Indian I have always been fighting for the freedom of Hindustan. I expect that all Indians, wherever they may be, should sacrifice their all for the liberation of India. Particularly I appeal to the Indians in Malaya, Thailand, Burma and East Asia to make their full share of sacrifice in the fight for freeing their motherland.

The coming struggle will be a test of the real calibre of the citizens of Hindustan. Every Indian should fight with courage. Every son of Bharat should fight with the firm conviction that the day of liberating the land of our forefathers is close at hand.

Broadcast from Azad Hind Radio, Germany, retranslated from the Tamil version published by the *Tamil Nesan*, Kuala Lumpur, dated April 23, 1942

DENY ALL HELP TO BRITAIN

AT THIS stage of our struggle for the complete freedom of India, no power on earth can prevent me from arriving in your midst All Indians should take advantage of the present trend of world events to achieve their objective.

If India follows Britain and takes her side, then she will meet the same doom as will fall upon Britain I therefore warn my compatriots not to help Britain in any manner whatsoever.

Even a small child can see that the British Empire is going to be smashed to pieces. It has neither air power, nor naval power, nor a big army. Britain is trying to terrorize India into obedience. But just as she could not save herself in Africa, Europe and East Asia, so also, I assure you, she cannot do anything in India.

In such a critical situation it is the duty of every Indian to join hands with the enemies of Britain. Britain's enemies are our allies.

Brothers, we will have to make great sacrifices in this struggle, because British Imperialism will rather be prepared to loose England itself than to give up India. This is the strange logic of British Imperialism.

At this juncture we must discharge our duty adequately. We cannot get freedom as a gift from Britain. We must win our freedom and independence by shedding our own blood at the altar of our motherland.

My compatriots, I will be informing you from time to time about the steps which our allies might take against Britain. My secret agents, who are operating throughout India, are regularly getting their orders over the radio in secret codes. Among the officials alone we have more than 50,000 agents. Apart from this there are innumerable fifth-columnists They will strike at the opportune moment. When the overseas Indians advance, those lakhs and lakhs of Indians who are operating behind the enemy lines will join them. Therefore, my friends, you need not think that you are alone or without support in this struggle.

Muster all your strength and be ready to give the death-blow to Britain.

Inquilab Zindabad ! Azad Hind Zindabad !

Broadcast from Azad Hind Radio Germany, retranslated from the Tamil version published by the *Tamil Nesan*, Kuala Lumpur, dated April 25, 1942

THE AXIS POWERS AND INDIA

BROTHERS AND sisters, I addressed you last on the occasion of the Jallianwala Bagh Day nearly three weeks ago and I then reminded you once again of the hypocrisy underlying the whole plan of the British Government which culminated in the journey of Sir Stafford Cripps to India. Sir Stafford offered, on the one hand, a promise of Dominion Status for the future, and, on the other, he demanded immediate cooperation in Britain's war effort and he expected the Indian people to accept such an absurd proposition. Rightly enough the contemptible offer of the British was rejected unconditionally and this was a matter of joy and happiness to Indians in every part of the world. I must, however, say that it was a painful surprise to find that after the departure of Sir Stafford Cripps from India and despite the refusal of the British Government to concede India's national demand, some prominent countrymen of ours have begun to advocate publicly a policy which amounts to unconditional cooperation with Britain in the war effort.

Is human memory so short that these gentlemen have forgotten the resolutions of the Indian National Congress from 1927 to 1938, which deal with the war? Did we not reaffirm year after year from 1927 to 1938 that when the next war comes we shall refuse to participate in it and that we shall resist every attempt on the part of the British Government to drag India into that war? In September 1939, when the present war broke out, did not the Indian National Congress deliberately refuse to render unconditional co-operation to the British Government? And did not the Congress take disciplinary action against and expel from its ranks such a prominent leader as Mr. M. N. Roy for the crime of advocating unconditional co-operation with the British Government? We are, therefore, waiting to see what disciplinary action will be taken against these gentlemen who are so unceremoniously flouting the principle of the Congress.

I know that these new converts to the creed of co-operation will assert that they altered their principle and policy in order to meet a new menace, the menace of aggression from without. But I would like to ask them if the aggression against which the Indian people have been fighting so long, the perpetual aggression of British Imperialism, has been successfully fought and destroyed. In spite of all that British propaganda has been saying or may say in future, it should be clear to all right-thinking Indians that in this world India has but one enemy, the enemy which has robbed her of her freedom, the enemy which has been exploiting her for years and years, and that enemy is British Imperialism.

Broadcast from Berlin May 1, 1942

It is a tragedy that some of our countrymen have been so duped by British propaganda that they have forgotten the real enemy, India's one and only enemy, which keeps India enslaved even now. These misguided people talk of aggression by Japan or Germany or Italy without knowing at first hand what policy these Powers have with regard to India.

Friends, I know something about these Powers and their foreign policy. I have been in intimate and personal contact with them ever since I left my home more than a year ago and I can assure you with all seriousness and sincerity that these three Powers want to see India fully independent and mistress of her own destiny. The three Powers are determined to defeat and destroy British Imperialism. It is the task of the rising generation of the Indian people, in whose hands rests the future of their country, to utilize the present international crisis to the fullest extent, so that out of the ashes of the British Empire may rise a free and liberated India.

I am not an apologist of the three Powers and it is not my task to defend what they have done or may do in future. That is a task which devolves on these nations themselves and they are quite able to deal with it. My concern, however, is with India; and it is my duty as a patriotic Indian to find out and tell my countrymen the policy of the different Powers with regard to India. If British Imperialism is defeated an annihilated, India will win her freedom. If, on the other hand, British Imperialism were somehow to win the war—which however, is quite impossible—then India's slavery will be perpetuated for ever. India, is therefore presented with the choice between freedom and slavery and she must make her choice in favour of freedom. For the Indians of today, it is the chance of a lifetime and for India it is an opportunity rare in human history.

Friends, I laugh whenever I hear Britain's propagandists call me an enemy agent I need no credentials when I speak to my own people. My whole life, which has been one long, consistent and continuous record of uncompromising struggle against British Imperialism, is the best guarantee of my *bona fides* Perhaps better than any other Indian today. I know foreign politics and I have known Britishers from my childhood. All my life I have been a servant of India and in the last hours of my life I shall remain so. My allegiance and loyalty has ever been and will be to India and to India alone.

British propagandists, who have been well silenced by Prime Minister Tojo's historical declaration of 'India for the Indians', have now fallen back on their last argument, which is drawn from the Sino-Japanese struggle. They are now shouting from the house tops, "See what the Japanese have done in China". I may tell these propagandists, both British and Indian, that when I was the President of the Indian

National Congress I was responsible for giving effect to the Congress resolution to send a goodwill mission to China Those were the days when Marshal Chiang Kai-shek was fighting for his national principles and that was why he could win the sympathy of Indians in an overwhelming degree. But the Marshal who came to India the other day to ask the Indian people to fight for England was quite a different man, a puppet of the Anglo-American Powers. And the Japan, that the Marshal is now fighting is quite a different Japan, a Japan that is at war with Britain and America, a Japan that is determined to annihilate Anglo-American Imperialism in the East, a Japan with whom Marshal Chiang Kai-shek can come to an honourable understanding today if he can emancipate himself from the grip of his Anglo-American masters

OUTSIDE HELP FOR FREEDOM FIGHT

COUNTRYMEN AND friends, about five weeks ago, I addressed you over another radio, the Azad Hind Radio. Since then, I have travelled quite a lot and I am now in the very heart of Germany. Through the courtesy of the Berlin short wave station, I, therefore, desire to address you again on the present international crisis.

First of all, I must congratulate you most warmly on your sense of national honour and self respect in rejecting the impudent offer of Sir Stafford Cripps. By doing so, you have not only brought India nearer to the goal of liberty, but you have, at the same time, raised yourselves in the estimation of the whole world. As a consequence, India today stands in the front line of world politics. After the departure of Sir Stafford Cripps from India, an attempt was made by some of our prominent men to secure India's participation in Britain's war even without a prior settlement with Britain over India's national demand. If this attempt had succeeded, the Indian people would have been shamelessly betrayed. But, thanks to the pressure of public opinion and to the opposition of Mahatma Gandhi, that danger has been averted once for all. It is now crystal clear that the Indian people will not participate in Britain's war. The only problem that remains to be solved is as to what positive steps they should take in order to achieve their liberation. The first move in this connection has already been made by the Indian public and by Mahatma Gandhi by demanding that the Anglo-American forces should withdraw from India, so that there may be no possibility of India becoming a battle ground in future. We have now to follow this up by preparing definite plans as to what we should do, if the British Government does not respond to this demand.

It is a matter of profound gratification that Indian public opinion has registered its emphatic protest against the application of the scorched earth policy to India. Once again, Mahatma Gandhi has risen to the occasion by firmly voicing his protest in this important affair. But mere protest and agitation will not do. The Indian people must devise concrete measures for preventing the wanton destruction of property when the British Army is forced to withdraw from India.

Friends, when I took the unusual step of defying the British Government and departed from India, my principal objectives were twofold. Firstly, to find out for myself the truth as to what is happening in the world, and, secondly, to see if India has any allies in her fight for freedom. During the time that I have been away from home I have seen things with my own eyes and heard with my own ears. I have

Broadcast from Berlin, June 17, 1942

followed closely the propaganda war conducted by both sides in this world war. I am, therefore, about to form an impartial and objective opinion as to what is really happening now and what is going to happen in the future. After this long, laborious and critical study of world affairs, there is not the slightest possibility of my being misled or misguided in my judgment. I should also like to add that whatever I have done since leaving home or whatever I may do in future, has been and will be done with the sole purpose of bringing about the speedy emancipation of my country and I shall never do anything which will not meet with the approval of nationalist circles in India. Further, I may say that if the cunning, unscrupulous and resourceful British Government has failed to allure or to corrupt me, no power on earth will ever be able to do so. Whatever may happen to me, my one and only duty will be to India and to India alone.

Since coming to Europe I have seen much with my own eyes and I can, therefore, compare the actual conditions here with the lies that are propagated from day to day by the B.B.C., that is the Bluff and Bluster Corporation, of London. Believe me when I say that Britain is going to lose the war and as a sequel to her crushing defeat the British Empire will be completely dismembered. Whether we actively assist Britain or whether we remain strictly neutral, nothing can alter by a hair's breadth the ultimate issue of this titanic struggle. In such a situation it is not only wise and prudent but imperatively necessary for India to play a dynamic role. India must, by her own efforts and her sacrifices, contribute materially to the break-up of the British Empire so that out of the ashes of that empire may emerge a triumphant India which will be the creation of the Indian people.

Friends, it will be an act of political suicide to remain inactive or neutral in this crisis. If we do so we shall either continue to be enslaved in spite of the dismemberment of the British Empire or we shall receive freedom as a gift from the victorious Tripartite Powers. We want neither. The Indian people must, therefore, fight for and win their liberty but in this fight some help from abroad will be necessary. I have studied very carefully the struggle for liberty that has gone on all over the world during the last 200 years, but I have not as yet discovered one single instance where freedom was won without outside help of some sort. Where the enemy is a powerful world-empire, the need for outside help is even greater; and where that powerful world-empire, namely, Britain, is buttressed by a combination of several other Powers it would be the height of folly not to accept any assistance that may be offered to us. When Britain has been pouring into India war material and soldiers from America, China, Africa and the rest of the British Empire, it does not lie in the mouth of a Britisher to complain if we take help from any other quarter. It will, of course, be for India to

decide what help she needs, and the less she needs, the better it will be for her. We can expect help or assistance only from those who are our friends and allies. In the present case those who are trying to overthrow the British Empire are helping our liberation and are, therefore, our friends and allies, while all those who are trying to save that empire are only attempting to perpetuate our slavery. But apart from this theoretical proposition, my personal experience as well as my interviews with Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini have convinced me that in this struggle against British Imperialism, the Tripartite Powers are our best friends and allies outside India.

I know that my friends like Swami Sahajanand Saraswati may hesitate to believe in the sincerity of the Tripartite Powers But I would like to remind them that these Powers have in their own interest resolved to fight British Imperialism to a finish and they will undoubtedly do so. And the destruction of British power will inevitably help India in throwing off the British yoke. Moreover the whole world, including the Tripartite Powers, would stand to gain if India could liberate herself and the only country to regret India's emancipation would be Britain. In this fateful hour in India's history, it would be a grievous mistake to be carried away by ideological considerations alone. The internal politics of Germany or Italy or Japan do not concern us. They are the concern of the people of those countries. But even a child should understand that whatever the internal politics of the Tripartite Powers may be, their aim in the international sphere is the destruction of the British Empire which is India's one and only enemy. Do we not see with our own eyes how, regardless of ideological considerations, the British Empire is now co-operating with Soviet Russia? It is high time that my friends and colleagues at home learnt to differentiate between the internal and the external policy of free India The internal policy of free India is and should be the concern of the Indian people themselves, while the external policy should be one of collaboration with the enemies of Britain. While standing for full collaboration with the Tripartite Powers in the external sphere, I stand for absolute self-determination for India where her own national affairs are concerned and I shall never tolerate any interference in the internal affairs of free India. So far as our social and economic problems are concerned, my views are exactly what they were when I was at home, and no one should make the mistake of concluding that external collaboration with the Tripartite Powers means acceptance of their domination or even of their ideology in our internal affairs.

Friends, my task today is to lead the final struggle for India's emancipation. But when that task is fulfilled and India is liberated, it will then be my duty to report to my countrymen and leave it to them to decide what form of government they would like to have. And, as

I told Mahatma Gandhi in my farewell talk with him in June 1940 before I was taken to prison, I shall again call on him when I have succeeded in my mission to achieve India's liberation from the British yoke. It is a matter of profound joy and pride for all of us that, backed by the full diplomatic support of the Tripartite Powers, our countrymen in the Far East are now assembling in a conference at Bangkok in order to devise ways and means for effecting the speedy emancipation of our motherland. As I have so often said, the last phase of our national struggle began with the departure of Sir Stafford Cripps from India. We shall soon reach a stage when we shall have to take up arms if the Anglo-American forces do not voluntarily vacate India. Friends, prepare for that auspicious day and organize simultaneously to fight the final battle and to resist the scorched-earth policy by which the British want to ruin our country before they fly from India.

The British Empire today is in such a tottering condition that I feel convinced that with the right leadership and the necessary assistance, it is possible for the Indian people to achieve their own salvation. This salvation will not be long in coming. In the course of the present war India will win her freedom and I repeat once again that when the hour strikes I shall be at your side, ready to participate in the final struggle. The power that could not prevent my getting out of India will not be able to prevent my getting in. Meanwhile, friends, please send a word of cheer to our comrades in prison. Let them patiently bide their time, for when they learn of the fighting they will be the first to hail it, and we shall then bring them the arms and equipment which will enable them to be soldiers in India's last war of independence.

Inquilab Zindabad! Azad Hind Zindabad!

THE PLEDGE OF THE I. N. A.

BRAVE SOLDIERS! Today you have taken an oath that you will give fight to the enemy till the last breath of your life, under the national tricolour. From today you are the soldiers of the Indian National Army of Free India. You have volunteered to shoulder the responsibility of forty crores of Indians. From today your mind, might and money belong to the Indian Nation.

Friends, you have the honour to be the pioneer soldiers of Azad Hind Fauj. Your names will be written in golden letters in the history of Free India. Every soldier who is martyred in this holy war will have a monument in Free India. The coming generations will shower flowers on those monuments. You are very fortunate that you have got this valuable opportunity to serve your motherland. Although we are performing this ceremony in a foreign land, our heads and hearts are in our country. You should remember that your military and political responsibilities are increasing day by day and you must be ready to shoulder them competently. The drum of Indian Independence has been sounded. We have to prepare for the battle ahead. We should prepare ourselves as early as possible so that we can perform the duties we have shouldered. I assure you that the time is not far off when you will have to put to use the military skill which you possess.

Today we are taking the vow of independence under the National Flag. A time will come when you will salute this flag in the Red Fort. But remember that you will have to pay the price of freedom. Freedom can never be had by begging. It has to be got by force. Its price is blood. We will not beg freedom from any foreign country. We shall achieve freedom by paying its price. It does not matter how much price we have to pay for it. I assure you that I shall lead the army when we march to India together. The news of the ceremony that we are performing here has reached India. It will encourage the patriots at home, who are fighting empty-handed against the British. Throughout my life it was my ambition to equip an army that will capture freedom from the enemy Today I congratulate you because the honour of such an army belongs to you. With this I close my speech. May God be with you and give you strength to fulfil the pledge which you have taken voluntarily today.

Inquilab Zindabad!

Broadcast to the Indian National Army in Europe, June 1942

BAN ON FORWARD BLOC

FRIENDS, it is surprising that there are still some people in India who believe in the possibility of a British victory in this war. But let me assure you that the British Empire's doom is inevitable. All those Indian brethren who are still trying to come to terms with the British are wasting their precious time and hampering the progress of revolutionary forces. Now, only three courses of action are left open to India; first, to help Britain; second, to maintain strict neutrality; and third, to revolt against the British. If India happens to side with Britain, she would invite disgrace and ruin and be enslaved for ever. Should India remain neutral, it would be better than helping Britain. In this case, she would not be able to get freedom through her own efforts, but would get it as a gift from the enemies of the British. If she makes up her mind to rise in revolt against Britain, she will have achieved her independence through her own strength. When we gain freedom, it will still be our own strength which will help us preserve it. It is suicidal to reach a settlement with Britain which is fast drifting towards ruin and disaster. If an Indian could not fight for his country's liberation, he had better be silent and not raise the question of a compromise with the British. There can be no greater folly than to help the British at the present juncture. That freedom is worthless for which you have to shed your blood for foreigners. I appeal to you not to waste your time by thinking of a compromise with Britain. You had rather gird up your loins for the battle for freedom.

Friends, unfortunately there are some in India, including a number of Congressmen, who say that if political power is transferred to them, they will allow Anglo-Saxon forces to continue to operate from India, but will not fight themselves. Here I would like to point out that no free nation could tolerate the presence of alien troops within its frontiers, and allow them to utilize her territory as a military base. These Indian politicians will embroil Inda intó the British war.

A number of Indians are anxious to help Britain, but they are not bold enough to say so openly. They intend to gain their ends by raising the plea of help to China. Every Indian is in sympathy with China. But today the important question is as to who does the Chungking regime represent. Friends, did not Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek come to India merely to beg Indian help for the British? Did he not send his troops to Burma to help the British keep their hold on her? Did not the Chungking Ambassador in London say that Britain must continue its hold on Burma? He also urged the British to recap-

From a broadcast from Rome, July 27, 1942

ture Burma. All this shows that the Chungking Government is a puppet in Anglo-American hands. Supposing, the Chungking regime emerges victorious from the present war with Allied help, it will have to pay the price for Anglo-American support in the shape of perpetual slavery for China. Would it not be advisable for China to join hands with Japan? I am sure if the Chungking Government tries to make a compromise with the Japanese, the latter will do so gladly. If despite all efforts, the Chinese do not succeed in effecting a compromise with Japan, the whole of Asia will be on their side. But at present the support and sympathies of all Asiatic countries are with the enemies of British imperialism.

The British are exploiting Indian poverty. Poor Indians are being recruited in the army, police and civic guards. I appeal to my countrymen and friends to abstain from joining the army. If at all they join the army, let only those join who are nationalists or revolutionaries so that they sabotage the British war effort, and thus prove themselves useful when the hour for India's independence arrives This is the only way that will lead you to your goal. It is a matter of profound gratification that there are even now a number of nationalists and revolutionaries in the British army, police and civic guards

I am also highly indebted to the British government for the honour it has done to the Forward Bloc by imposing a ban on it This shows that the Forward Bloc has been a thorn in the British side. It is a matter of great pride for the Bloc that it is bearing British barbarities. I send my love and sympathies to my friends of the Forward Bloc who are behind prison bars.

Friends, I again assure you that I will continue struggling for Indian independence until India is completely free I also reassure you that if I accept foreign support for freeing India, it will be on the condition that India gets complete independence I will reach India when the occasion arises to guide your national struggle. After this, I will leave it to you to form a national government in a free India. I will again see Mahatma Gandhi after achieving my mission, as I had seen him in his Sevagram Ashram in 1940

At present, every Indian should do his bit to destroy British imperialism in India. God helps those who help themselves

Long live revolutionary free India.

THE 'QUIT INDIA' MOVEMENT

COMRADES! Since I spoke to you last, about two weeks ago, the movement in India has been continuing with unabated vigour, and has been spreading like wild fire from the towns to the countryside. Throughout the month the British propoganda machinery has tried to give the impression that the campaign is now subsiding and that things are quietening down. But this attempt has completely failed, because in the same breath the B.B.C. and its agents have given, or rather have been forced to give, news of more shooting on unarmed men and women all over the country. I can assure you that in the year of grace 1942, India can no longer be isolated from the rest of the world, however much Britain may try to draw a veil over that land. As a matter of fact, every bit of news regarding India's national struggle, every incident in Indian towns and villages, every case of shooting, whether in Ramnad or in Wardha, in Bikrampore or in Lucknow, is immediately flashed all over the world, is broadcast over the radio and published in the Press in all those countries that are either hostile to the Allied Powers or are neutral. Comrades, I know very well how in all the previous campaigns we were hard put to it to inform the outside world about the happenings in India and about the atrocities committed by British imperialists. Today the problem does not exist, and it is my pleasant task to keep the outside world informed about all events in India and to secure all the sympathy and help that India may need in her hour of trial. If today you could see with your own eyes and hear with your own ears all that is being propagated by your friends abroad about India's epic struggle, you would realize the measure of sympathy that India is receiving from the enemies of British Imperialism. And this sympathy for India is bound to grow in volume and intensity as British terror and brutality increases. The more we suffer and the more we sacrifice in the pursuit of our national freedom, the more will India's prestige go up in the eyes of the world.

I should like to tell you further while we have gained the moral sympathy of public opinion throughout the world, it is also possible for us to obtain from abroad any help that we may need for our emancipation. Therefore, in the fight against all the modern forms of terror and brutality, if you feel overwhelmed at any time and if you desire your friends abroad to give you the hand of assistance, you have only to say so. But these friends, who are anxious to see India free, will not offer their help to you, so long as you do not

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need it, and for our national honour and self-interest, we should not ask for any assistance so long as we can do without it.

In this connection, I would appeal to you once again to trust fully your countrymen abroad who are working heart and soul with you for the speedy liberation of India. We are today the custodians of India's national honour, the unofficial ambassadors of free India. As at home, so also abroad, we stand always for Independence, and we shall never permit vital encroachments on our national sovereignty by any foreign power.

Do not be carried away by ideological considerations ; do not bother about the internal politics of other countries, which is no concern of ours. Believe me when I say that the enemies of British Imperialism are our friends and allies. It is to their interest to see the British Empire broken up and India once again free. And they know very well that so long as India remains under the British yoke, there can be no victory for them and there can be no peace. In the political field, I should be the last man to expect foreign Powers to sympathize with us if it were not in their own interest to do so

Comrades, you must have observed how during the last few months the British Empire has been passing through its darkest hours. Gone are the days when London was the metropolis of the world. Gone are the days when kings and statesmen had to wend their way to London in order to have their problems solved. Gone are the days when the American President had to come to Europe to meet the British Prime Minister. As an English poet, Tennyson, has himself said. "The old order changeth yielding place to new, and God fulfils himself in many ways" Consequently, the British Prime Minister has now to run to New York and Washington, and Americans in Britain are declared to be outside the jurisdiction of British laws. Thus, Britain and her Empire are fast becoming a colony of Roosevelt's 'New Empire'. But India has no desire to remain in any empire, and she must, therefore, now fight the old imperialism as well as the new. The most interesting phase of the metamorphosis that has overtaken the British Empire is the fact that the High Priest of Imperialism, the arch-enemy of Indian nationalism, the sworn opponent of all forms of Socialism, the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, has had to swallow all his former imperialist pride and present himself at the gates of the Kremlin in Moscow.

Is it not significant that in his desperation this representative of British imperialism should do everything else, but under no circumstances will he think of recognizing India's independence? India is the jewel of the British Empire, and in order to keep this jewel the British people will fight to the last. The Indian people, therefore, and particularly the leaders, should banish all hopes that Britain will

accede to India's demands, and should carry on the struggle till the last Britisher is expelled from India. In the last days of our campaign there will be much suffering and sorrow, much persecution and slaughter, much suppression and massacre. But that is the price of liberty and it has to be paid It is but natural that in its last hours the British lion will bite hard, but it is after all the bite of a dying lion, and we shall survive it

In this critical hour our strategy should consist in continuing the fight for our independence regardless of the consequences The British Empire will soon collapse and break up as a result of shattering defeats in all the theatres of war. And when the final dismemberment of the Empire takes place, power will automatically come into the hands of the Indian people. Our final victory will come as a result of our efforts alone Consequently, it does not matter in the least if we in India suffer temporary set-backs, specially when we are confronted with machine-guns bombs tanks and aeroplanes Our task is to continue the national struggle in spite of all obstacles and set-backs till the hour of liberation arrives

There is no cause to be depressed because the leaders are imprisoned. On the contrary, their sufferings will serve as a perpetual inspiration to the entire nation. Moreover, those who are now away from the field of action have given you the plan that has to be executed by you now

Comrades, I have already assured you that whatever I have been doing abroad is in accordance with the wishes of a very large section of my countrymen I will not do anything which the whole of India will not wholeheartedly endorse. Ever since I left home I have remained in intimate contact with my countrymen at home through more channels than one, in spite of all the efforts of the Intelligence Bureau of the Government of India and the British Secret Service During the last few months you have had proof of my close contact with my countrymen in India and many of you know by now how you can communicate with me whenever you so desire I may now tell you that it is no longer possible for the British to prevent my going to India or getting out whenever I wish to do so

At the present moment all the countries that are being suppressed or dominated by Britain are either in a state of revolt or are preparing for one. If we in India continue our struggle we shall not only effect our emancipation speedily, but will also expedite the liberation of all countries exploited and dominated by Britain On the other hand if the Indian people remain inactive, the enemies of Britain will take the initiative in expelling the British from India. The British Empire is in any case doomed, and the only question is as to what will happen to us when its final dissolution takes place Shall we obtain our freedom as

a gift from other Powers or shall we win it by our own effort?

I would request Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Savarkar, and all those leaders who still think of a compromise with the British, to realize once for all that in the world of tomorrow there will be no British Empire. All those individuals, groups or parties who now participate in the fight for freedom will have an honoured place in the India of tomorrow The supporters of British Imperialism will naturally become nonentities in a free India. I will appeal earnestly to all parties and groups to consider this and to think in terms of nationalism and anti-imperialism, and to come forward and join the epic struggle that is going on now. I appeal to the progressive elements of the Muslim League, with some of whom I have had the privilege of co-operating in the work of the Calcutta Corporation. I appeal to the brave Majlis-i-Ahrar, the Nationalist Muslim Party of India that started the Civil Disobedience campaign in 1939 against Britain's war effort before any other party did so. I appeal to the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, the old representative organization of the Ulemas or the Muslim divines of India, led by that distinguished patriot and leader, Mufti Khifayat Ullah I appeal to the Azad Muslim League, another important organization of the nationalist Muslims of India I appeal to the Akali Dal, the leading nationalist Sikh party of India. And last but not the least I appeal to the Praja Party of Bengal, which commands the confidence of that province and is led by well-known patriots. I have no doubt that if all these organizations join in this struggle the day of India's liberation will be drawn nearer.

The campaign that is now going on in India may be described as non-violent guerilla warfare. In this guerilla war the tactics of dispersal have to be employed. In other words, we should spread out our activities all over the country so that the British police and military may not be able to concentrate their attack on one point. In accordance with the principles of guerilla war, we should also be as mobile as possible and should move continuously from place to place. The authorities should never be able to predict where our activities will emerge next Friends, as you are aware, I have been through each of the campaigns between 1921 and 1940, and I know the causes of their failure. I have now had the opportunity of taking expert advice with regard to the tactics of guerilla warfare, and I am in a position to offer you some suggestions as to how this present campaign should be brought to a victorious end. The object of this non-violent guerilla campaign should be a two-fold one Firstly, to destroy war production in India, and, secondly, to paralyze the British administration in the country Keeping these objects in view, every section of the community should participate in the struggle.

Firstly, you should stop paying all taxes that directly or indirectly

bring revenue to the Government. Secondly, workers in all industries should either launch a 'stay-in' strike or try to hamper production by conducting a 'go-slow' campaign inside the factories. They should also carry out sabotage with such methods as the removing of nuts and bolts in order to impede production. Thirdly, students should organize secret guerilla bands for carrying on sabotage in different parts of the country. They should also invent new ways of annoying the British authorities, for example, burning stamps, etc., in post offices, destroying British monuments, and so on. Fourthly, women, and especially girl students, should do underground work of all kinds, either as secret messengers or by providing shelter for the men who fight. Fifthly, Government officials who are prepared to help the campaign should not resign their posts, but those in Government offices and in war industries should give all available information to fighters outside, and should try to hamper production by working inefficiently. Sixthly, servants who are working in the houses of Britishers should be organized for the purpose of giving trouble to their masters, for example by demanding higher salaries, cooking and serving bad food and drinks, etc. Seventhly, Indians should give up all business with British banks, firms, insurance companies, etc. Eighthly, listen to the broadcasts of Col. Britton in the European Service of the B.B.C. and apply the Colonel's tactics to the Indian situation.

For the general public I also suggest the following activities:

(a) Boycott of British goods, including burning of British stalls and Government stores;

(b) Total boycott of all Britishers in India, and of those Indians who are pro-British;

(c) Holding of public meetings and demonstrations in spite of official prohibition;

(d) Publishing of secret bulletins, and setting up of secret radio stations;

(e) Marching to the houses of British Government officials and demanding their departure from India;

(f) Organizing of processions for entering and occupying Government offices, Secretariat buildings, law courts, etc., with a view to hampering the administration;

(g) Arranging to punish police officers and prison officials who oppress and persecute the people;

(h) Erecting barricades in the streets where there is a likelihood of attack from the police and the military;

(i) Setting fire to Government offices and factories which are working for war purposes;

(j) Interrupting postal, telegraph and telephone communication as frequently as possible and in different places;

(k) Interrupting railway, bus and tram services, whenever there is a possibility of hampering the transport of soldiers or of war material;

(l) Destroying police stations, railway stations and jails in isolated places.

Comrades, I can assure you that as soon as this programme is put into operation, the administrative machinery can be brought to a standstill. In this connection, I must remind you that in a non-violent guerilla campaign the peasantry always plays a decisive part. I am glad to observe that in several provinces—in Bihar and in the Central Provinces—the peasants are already in the forefront. I earnestly hope that Swami Sahajanand Saraswati and other peasant leaders, who together with the Forward Bloc started the fight long before Mahatma Gandhi, will now lead the campaign to a victorious conclusion. I will appeal to Swami Sahajanand and the leaders of the Kisan Movement to come forward and fulfil their leading role in the last phase of the fight. We want Swaraj for the masses, Swaraj for the workers and the peasants. It is, therefore, the duty of the workers and the peasants to emerge as the vanguard of the national army at a time when the future of India is being made. It is the law of nature that those who fight for liberty and win it will retain power and responsibility.

It is very encouraging, friends, to find that the people of the Indian States have begun to participate in this all-India struggle. Reports to the effect have already come from Baroda, Mysore and Hyderabad, and I am confident that the day is not far off when the States people will line up with the people of British India and form a common front against the combined forces of British Imperialism and the Indian Princes.

Most gratifying of all is the news that the clarion call of liberty has reached the ears and the hearts of our soldiers at home and abroad. They have no doubt been court-martialled with characteristic British brutality. But the fire is spreading from one place to another. A number of soldiers have voluntarily deserted to join the Axis forces in Egypt and they are being welcomed with open arms by them. All the Indian fighting units have been withdrawn from the El Alamein front, as being unreliable. No wonder some supporters of British Imperialism have been brought up from India in order to impress the Indian troops. But their efforts have so far failed. I will be able to keep the outside world informed of all the facts of the Indian situation so as to secure from the enemies of Britain all the help that India may now need.

In conclusion, I must point out that the campaign in India should be carried out for weeks and if necessary for months. If the non-violent guerilla war should continue sufficiently long, freedom will

come because British Imperialism will ultimately break down owing to the cumulative effect of defeats sustained on different fronts. Do not forget for one moment that the British Empire is now on its last legs.

At the same time, be prepared for every suffering because the apostles of freedom and democracy and the authors of the Atlantic Charter may do their very worst in the days to come. Before dawn comes the darkest hour. Be brave and continue the struggle, for freedom is at hand. Let your slogans be 'Now or Never', 'Victory or Death', 'Inquilab Zindabad'.

COMMON INDO-ARAB INTERESTS

IF I were to give my opinion, I should say that even more than diplomacy, intrigue and treachery have been responsible for the success of the British in the past. But you cannot fool all men for all time. Those nations that have been fooled by the British in the past have now learnt from bitter experience and they are not prepared to be fooled again. That's why the Arab people are today wide awake. That's why India is now in a state of rebellion. Never again will the Arabs and the Indian people be deceived by the promises and the bluffs of the wily British politicians. The Arab and the Indian people were both given promises of independence during the last war. They took these promises at their face value and gave their blood and their resources in the service of Britain. When the war came to an end, these promises were conveniently forgotton. Not only were the Arabs deprived of their independence, but they were split up into several states and in the heart of the Arab world, Palestine, the British tried to set up a Jewish state. And for India, the promise of Swaraj or independence was not redeemed, and all that the Indian people received for the sacrifices they had made for Britain was the massacre at Jallianwala Bagh.

It is because of British treachery that we see that even those Arab leaders who were formerly co-operating with the British are now their determined and implacable enemies. It is for the same reason that Mahatma Gandhi who helped the British generously in the last war is now the leader of a national revolution and is confined in a British prison. The Arab people are today determined to overthrow the British rule and bring about their unification. So also are the Indian people determined to expel the unwanted Britisher from India and recover their lost liberty.

Thus the interest of the Arab and the Indian people have brought them together in a common fight against a common enemy. It is a truism of the international politics today that the two pillars of the British Empire are Egypt and India and if these two countries are liberated, the British Empire will cease to exist. British politicians realized long ago the importance of India for the British Empire and the necessity of dominating the Near East in order to maintain the British hold over India. That is why they tried to create a class of puppets in those countries of the Near East in which they were interested. Through the medium of these puppets in the Near Eastern countries, Britain tries to boast before the world as a friend of Islam, but

From a broadcast from Berlin, September 23, 1942

this is a bluff which has never deceived and will never deceive any Islamic people. No other power has robbed or threatened the liberty of the Islamic people to the extent that Britain has. In this matter, Britain stands in a class by herself, and for all the Islamic countries, Britain is certainly enemy No. 1. The same thing could be said of Britain in relation to India and I should go further and say that for India there is only one enemy in the world and that enemy is British imperialism.

The British realized from the very beginning that they had no moral justification for dominating India. That is why they invent excuses and carry on an ingenious and systematic propaganda all over the world to convince the people that the British rule in India stands for progress and national prosperity.

SACRIFICE 100,000 LIVES

I FEEL convinced that the struggle in India can be carried on for at least two years without any help from outside The people have been trained during the past two decades to conduct the campaign without any big leader, and the fact that most of the leaders are now in prison will serve as a perpetual inspiration to them. Moreover, the Indian people today are much stronger and more well-organized than ever before and, on the other hand, the British Empire is now disintegrating as a result of defeats in different theatres of war. Consequently, the Indian people will be able to hold out till the final collapse of the British Empire takes place. Time and the forces of history are working for us and we will win. Only we must make up our mind to sacrifice a hundred thousand lives in this great fight, and that is not a big price to pay for the emancipation of three hundred and eighty eight million human beings According to the British Government, the total losses suffered by the Indian people in this war already amount to nearly one hundred thousand. Thus we have sacrificed, against our will, these one hundred thousand men for the preservation of the British Empire. Let us now voluntarily sacrifice a hundred thousand lives so that this Empire is overthrown and India is free once again. This sacrifice will be only one seventh of what India underwent during the last World War.

One of the most encouraging features in this year's campaign is the participation of the States people in our national struggle I offer them my warmest congratulations on their patriotic endeavour, and I assure them that when India is free, they will benefit from the change as much as the people of British India will.

I must also offer my warmest congratulations to the Prime Minister of Sind, Allah Bux, for not only giving up his title, which was a badge of slavery, but also for declaring to the whole world that the majority of Indian Muslims today supports India's struggle for freedom. I can assure him that Indians all over the world are beholden to him for the timely service he has rendered to India and to the Indian Muslims by giving the lie direct to the recent impudent speech of the British Prime Minister on India. I hope that all those who are interested in India will no longer be duped by British propaganda to the effect that the Indian Muslims do not sympathise with or support the fight for freedom. In order to enlighten the outside world, it would be advisable for other Muslim organizations also to similarly declare their attitude towards the present struggle. The Khudai Khidmatgars

From a broadcast from Berlin, October 6, 1942

of the Frontier, the Majlis-i-Ihrar of the Punjab, the Praja Party of Bengal, the Nationalist Muslim Party of India, the Anjuman-i-Watan of Baluchistan, the All-India Women's Party, the All-India Shia Conference, the All-India Jamiat-i-Ulema whose brave leader Mufti Kifait Ullah is in prison, all these and other organisations that stand for India's independence should come forward and give a fitting reply to the false assertions of arrogant British politicians

Friends, I would once again ask the Indian members of the Viceroy's Executive Council to reconsider their present position. They should have noticed by now that British politicians have been throwing all the responsibility on their shoulders for the terrible happenings in India. If they do not repudiate that responsibility at once, the blood of their innocent countrymen will be on their head, and they will have to answer for it when the time comes. The best and most honourable course for them is to follow the example of Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer and lay down their office I ardently hope that the lead in this matter will be given by my friend, Mr M S Aney

TO THE AMERICANS

I AM taking this opportunity of addressing the English-speaking countries and particularly the United States of America because of the systematic propaganda carried on by British and pro-British agencies against the nationalists of India, against the leaders of the Indian people and against myself personally for our only trying for and demanding freedom for a nation of three hundred and eighty eight millions. Most of the Indian leaders against whom this propaganda is directed have been locked up behind prison walls. The people who are still out of prison and are carrying on the struggle for India's liberty find it difficult, if not impossible, to make themselves heard outside India. Consequently, it is the duty of people like myself who happen to be at the moment beyond the reach of the British police to speak for India to the nations abroad.

The well-known British publicist, Mr. Vernon Bartlett has, in his recent appeal to America in the Pacific Service of the B.B.C., attacked me by saying that I have been doing propaganda for the German radio. But I may tell Mr. Bartlett that I do propaganda only for India and for the cause of India's freedom. I challenge him to point out where I have done propaganda for anybody else. If I have accepted the hospitality of the German radio for doing propaganda for India's freedom, I am perfectly justified in doing so. It does not lie in the mouth of an Englishman to object or to complain when the authorities in India and in England have not given me such an opportunity on even a single occasion during my 21 years of public life.

As a matter of fact, throughout his public career, even Mahatma Gandhi has never been invited to speak over the Indian Radio. The only occasion when he did speak to the outside world over the radio was due to the courtesy of an American agency. If the British radio authorities in England or in India had invited Indian nationalists to speak to the world from their studio, and if the offer had been declined, Mr. Bartlett might have had some ground for complaining today. As the matter stands, the whole world is so flooded with British propaganda against India that it is our bounden duty to make the fullest use of what little opportunity we have of making India's case heard abroad.

Like Sir Stafford Cripps, Mr. Bartlett is a further example of how most liberals and democrats in England have been blinded by the passions and prejudices arising out of war. In order to justify the

Broadcast from Berlin, October 12, 1942

India policy of the British Government, he has been employing, whether consciously or unconsciously, the self-same arguments which the die-hard conservatives have been using for ages He tells the world that if the Indian people had agreed about the basis of their independence, they would have achieved it long ago.

Surely, he of all persons should know that there is no unanimity even in England on any major political issue He of all persons should know that there is more unanimity amongst Indians on the question of Indian independence than there is among English people on any problem. He of all persons should know with what marvellous unity Muslims and Hindus had fought side by side in India's first war of independence in 1857. He of all persons should know that ever since 1857, the first and foremost item in Britain's policy in India has been 'divide and rule'. He of all persons should know that Burma was separated from India against the will of the majority of the Burmese people, and he of all persons should also know that if Britain were somehow to win this war, both Palestine and India would be divided just as Ireland was after the last war

Mr Bartlett, who I met and whom I came to know both in London and in Calcutta, was a perfect gentleman. It is indeed painful to find that he should stoop to the same arguments which India's enemy No 1, Mr. Winston Churchill has been using

It is a tragedy for the British Empire that in its greatest crisis, Mr. Churchill is at the helm of affairs. At the beginning of this century, it was the arch imperialist, Lord Curzon, who whipped up the nationalist pride of the then slumbering Indian people And forty years later, the last imperialist premier of Britain has been responsible for driving the Indian people to a mad desperation by lathi blows, floggings, bombs and machine guns. British politicians of all shades of opinion have, of late, been concentrating their anger on Mahatma Gandhi. Nobody has fought Gandhiji so hard since 1939 as I and my party in the Congress have. But today, all distinctions between the Right and the Left within the Indian National Congress have disappeared and the Indian people stand united in their demand for immediate independence.

British politicians, including so-called Socialists like Sir Stafford Cripps, may now condemn Gandhi But did not the same Gandhi unconditionally help Britain in the last war, did not the same Gandhi make an exceedingly pro-British declaration on September 6. 1939 immediately after the outbreak of the war in Europe? Did not the same Gandhi postpone his ultimatum to the British Government from September 1939 to August 1942 ? Was not the same Gandhi called by British members of Parliament, like Miss Alan Wilkinson, as the best policeman the Britishers had in India? May I ask why has such

a man, who is now 73 years old, demanded independence here and now?

There is no doubt that people like myself never expected the British Government to play the game with India and that is why we wanted to start the campaign as early as 1939 But it took Mahatma Gandhi three years of patient waiting to be finally dis-illusioned about Britain's war aims. And when Britain has at last antagonised Gandhi, she has antagonised the last moderate in India. And let it not be forgotten that the resolution, for which he was put in prison without any trial, was a resolution offering full co-operation in the war, if India was granted independence at once. It was not a resolution which we left-wingers would have passed, if we had our way. If, for passing such a resolution, one has to be incarcerated in India, then there is no room for an honest politician outside prison in that country.

The Indian people have had an exceedingly difficult task in fighting such a powerful empire as that of Britain. Moreover, British propaganda, reaching every corner of the world, has deprived them of that sympathy which they would have otherwise received in so righteous a cause Consequently, whenever the Indian people have received sympathy from outside, they have felt particularly grateful. Among the nations that have in the past sympathised with India's right for freedom are the people of the United States of America. It was, therefore, greatly encouraging for the Indian people to hear the other day that fifty seven prominent men and women of the States had raised their voice in support of India's independence in a representation addressed to President Roosevelt.

Though the Indian people know that they have to fight their own battle and must themselves pay the price of liberty, they cannot but be thankful for such expressions of sympathy. Whatever the Government of the USA may do now or in future, the peoples of the States have a duty to perform, if they are to live up to the traditions of which they feel so proud. They have a duty to perform to themselves, to their own history and to the world at large. The very least that they can do is to understand our point of view, even if they are unable to visibly help us.

Since September 1939, the British have been going round in the world exclaiming that they are fighting to establish the reign of freedom and democracy in the world. They have been simultaneously accusing the Axis Powers of everything that is vile and nefarious. President Roosevelt has now come into the picture with his Atlantic Charter, just as President Wilson had come before the world with his 14 points in 1918. The Indian people naturally ask what place they have in the Atlantic Charter on the one side and in the new order of the Axis Powers on the other. They are particularly entitled to ask

this, because they represent about one fifth of the human race and because they have been duped by wily British politicians during the last war.

They now find that because they have demanded freedom and democracy for their country and the application of the Atlantic Charter to India, they are faced not only with lathis and whips but also with bombs and bullets and with machine-gunning from the air, though they are thoroughly unarmed today, having been forcibly disarmed by the British after the first war of independence in 1857. In such an atmosphere, can anti-Axis propaganda have the slightest effect on the Indian people? If the present state of affairs in India continues, even the most weakly politicians in India, who have been pleading for a compromise with Britain, will soon decide that it is far better and far more honourable to face bullets and death than to remain alive in an enslaved India.

It has become the fashion in certain circles in England to give all sorts of abusive names, if an Indian stands up today for the motto 'India First'. But such abuse does not help Britain. It only provokes more bitterness and more hatred towards Britain. We stand for nobody and work for nobody other than for a free India.

Britain has set up an alliance with numerous powers for maintaining the status quo and keeping India in slavery. Faced by such tremendous difficulties, it is but natural, it is but fair and proper that we too should seek assistance wherever possible and accept help from whichever source it may come. In doing so, we are acting in the best interests of India and our conscience is perfectly clear. India today is determined to have her liberty, not at some future date, but without delay. She is now engaged in paying the price of liberty, and she will go on paying, till freedom is achieved. The toll of her dead and wounded in this non-violent guerilla war will go on steadily mounting, but no amount of terror, brutality or barbarity will break the people's morale, and when necessity arises and the hour strikes, the youth of India will find and will wield the arms to strike the last blow at the chains of servitude.

So there is today but one thought, that permeates their souls from the Himalayas to Cape Camorin — "Give me liberty or give me death."

CHURCHILL, A BLESSING

I DECIDED to make a short tour of Europe once again in order to gather first-hand impressions of the most recent developments During this tour, I have been in parts of Europe which are called the occupied territories. I have been in some of the new states like Slovakia, that have come into existence after the outbreak of the present war, and I have been to countries like Italy which are actively engaged in a grim struggle with Anglo-American imperialism. Finding myself in Berlin once again, I am now accepting the hospitality of the short wave station here in order to speak to you on the situation as I see it and on our task at home.

People who are inclined to be impatient will naturally be disappointed that things have not moved fast enough during the last two months, and they may think that the situation remains fundamentally the same as it was in September or in October last. I must tell you frankly, however, that I do not share this view. The war has reached a stage when time is working for the Tripartite Powers and their Allies, and against our common enemy. Unlike the last war, we find that in this war the economic blockade is working against Britain, and not against Germany. Despite all the efforts of that high priest of imperialism, Mr. Winston Churchill, the British Empire is going the way of all other Empires of the past. The only problem that remains to be solved is who will be heirs and successors of this Empire?

We have learnt from world history that it is an irony of fate that the staunchest champions of imperialism always manage to hasten its end. Reactionary and oppressive rulers like Lord Curzon have always done more to rouse and strengthen the forces of nationalism than the so-called friends of India, like Lord Rippon or Lord Irwin. We should indeed be grateful to Providence that, at the most opportune moment, He ordained that Mr. Winston Churchill should be at the helm of affairs in Britain. Mr. Churchill's premiership is, for India, the surest guarantee that there will be no compromise between the British Government and the Indian nationalists and that India would achieve her goal of independence before long. Let us, therefore, pray that he may continue to rule over the destinies of the British Empire during the hour of its final gruesome collapse. Also, let the Liberals and Democrats, e.g., Sir Stafford Cripps, who in reality constitute a greater menace for India's independence, be thrown out, so as to eliminate all possibility of creating confusion in the minds of Indian nationalists.

From a broadcast from Berlin December 8, 1942

Friends, we see that while in Britain rank imperialists have taken charge of public affairs and are managing things in their way, in the United States of America two voices can be heard Large sections of the public are genuinely interested in Indian independence and openly criticise the British Government. On the other hand, the Government and those who hold the reins of power are pursuing a policy which frankly speaking can only be described as American imperialism. In fact, a definite school of thought has grown up in the USA which loudly proclaims that the present century belongs to the USA and that the British Empire should voluntarily make room for it. Strangest of all is the fact that this theory of an American world empire has already found an echo across the Atlantic, and several prominent and serious British thinkers are directly or indirectly giving their support to this theory. They are, however, of the opinion that while Britain should recognize and accept American supremacy in world affairs, America for her part should allow the British Empire to exist with its dependencies and not interfere in the internal affairs of that Empire The public in the United States of America are by no means satisfied with the policies of Mr. Churchill and his imperialist colleagues in relation to India. But they can do nothing to alter the present state of things. The partnership of President Roosevelt and Premier Churchill is going to endure, and the former knows that the latter, the junior partner, will go on taking orders from him so long as Britain's Imperial policy is not interfered with. From their own experience, the Indian people have already found out by now that in actual practice they can accept no help from the so-called United Nations in their struggle for liberty and the latest developments in Anglo-American relations more than confirm the correctness of this view. Indian people have, therefore, to fight their own battle, and help from outside, should it be necessary, can only be forthcoming from the enemies of the so-called United Nations.

Friends, let us now dispassionately sum up the situation as one sees it today. In the Far East, the Anglo-American powers have been trounced. From Europe, British power has been eliminated completely. All talk of a second front is like children's dreams. All that the Anglo-American powers can now do is to seek battles and wars in the African continent at the expense of the helpless French Empire. But it is Europe and Asia and not Africa, that will decide the fate of this war.

Friends, some of my British listeners sitting in the office of the B.B.C. have been upset that I have not yet redeemed my promise to return home and participate in the final phase of our struggle. I would like to advise them to have some patience. My pledge, given not to the British Government, but to my own people, will be redeemed in

the fullness of time As sure as day follows night, the present world war will bring about a complete dismemberment of the British Empire As sure as day follows night, India will emerge from the struggle as an independent state. And as sure as day follows night, I will live to participate in the final struggle for liberty, not from abroad, but at home, side by side with the comrades who have been bravely carrying on the fight, while I have been away on duty.

Inquilab Zindabad ! Azad Hind Zindabad !

ANGLO-AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

THIS IS Subhas Chandra Bose speaking from Berlin.

Countrymen and friends, since I spoke to you last over the radio, I have been travelling in another part of Europe in order to see conditions with my own eyes, and to establish contact with my countrymen living there. On my return to Berlin, I have once agian accepted the hospitality of the short-wave station here in order to speak to my countrymen all over the world.

The policy of the ruling classes in the United States of America is now clear to the whole world. There is no hush hush about it any more. One has only to hear all the utterances of their public men in order to comprehend it. It is claimed by them that this century is the American century, and all other powers, including the British Empire, should acknowledge this fact and act accordingly. Strangely enough, even among British polificians, a school of thought has already grown up which openly declares that Britain's place in the American century is a subordinate one, that the British Isles should accept the world hegemony of the United States as an indisputable fact, and it should merely try to hold together the Empire by some means or the other. There can be no surer indication of demoralization in the British camp than the fact that the British politicians have accepted defeat in advance. To the neutral observer, the British Empire presents indeed a tragic spectacle, because it is losing one part of its territory unwillingly to its enemies and another part voluntarily to its great ally.

President Roosevelt is not committing the mistake which President Wilson did in the last war. Consequently, his government is insisting on cash payment everywhere and, in consequence thereof, British assets and securities all over the world are evaporating into thin air. The United States Government has been occupying military bases all over the world at the expense of the British and the French Empires. And who would be so foolish as to think that it will voluntarily return these bases at the end of the war? American troops are now to be found all over the British Empire, including England and Northern Ireland and India. Every where within the Empire, American troops are under their own command. In some places, such as in Australia and New Zealand, even British troops are under the American command. In other words, America is slowly but surely carrying out a peaceful military occupation of the British Empire. As this military occupation is proceeding, the Americans are gradually asserting themselves in the political sphere as well. A shining example or

From a broadcast from Berlin, December 22, 1942

this American self-assertion is the fact that American troops in England and in other parts of the Empire are above the law of the land. They are directly under Washington and under the jurisdiction of American law. Consequently, the Americans today have the same extra-territorial rights which Whitehall enjoyed for a long time in China, Egypt and other countries.

So far as India is concerned, my countrymen are aware that American troops, American technical missions and American diplomatic agents are already there. American papers are now openly announcing that the Americans in India are under the jurisdiction not of London but of Washington. And along with this announcement the White House is taking steps to tighten the American hold over India at the expense of the British Government. Churchill, Amery and their colleagues are submitting to every humiliation at the hands of the White House. But the American President is a superior tactician. While thankfully accepting the submission and surrender of British politicians, he is relentlessly proceeding with his own plan of taking over the British Empire, lock, stock and barrel.

Countrymen and friends, let us have no illusions about the role of the United States in the politics of the British Empire and of India. We thankfully recognise the fact that a large section of the American people have sympathy for Indian independence, but unfortunately they are powerless to influence their own Government. So far as American state policy towards India is concerned, it is as imperialistic as that of Britain. If the White House really wanted to do so, it could have forced Whitehall to concede independence to India. But, instead of doing that, it is itself carrying out a peaceful occupation of India. And now Mr. Phillips is going out to India to make the necessary social contact with the Indian people, so that, in the fullness of time, he and the U.S. army can quietly replace Lord Linlithgow and the British Army and take over the reins of Government. My countrymen, beware of him. Boycott him. British plans for a post-war India have been made, and if British politicians were to have their own way, they would split up India into four or five States under a strong imperialist Government which would exploit the country more intensively than hitherto in order to make up for their losses in this war. The Union Jack would then fly not over the capital of India as at present, but over the capitals of Hindustan, Pakistan, Rajasthan, Khalistan and Pathanistan. And the Indian people would be given a British guarantee of permanent enslavement. Let Mr. M. A. Jinnah and his Muslim League ponder over this.

In conclusion, I would like to warn my countrymen in Bengal that difficult days are in store for them. Much blood will flow in that eastern province, but our countrymen there should not fear it. It is

Bengal that opened the door to the British in India and it is Bengal that should now show them the way out. In the past, the British used India as a base and used her resources for attacking and conquering Burma. Now that the British have been expelled from Burma, they want once again to use India, and particularly Bengal, for trying to reconquer that land. They are deliberately dragging war to the soil of India. Bengal will, accordingly, have the experience of the horrors of war before any other province. But let Bengal be proud of it. The task of the vanguard is always a difficult one. But it is also a glorious one. I am confident that Bengal will rise to the occasion and fulfil her historic role.

Once again the Sun of Freedom will rise in the East.

Inquilab Zindabad! Azad Hind Zindabad!

BENGAL BOMBED

THE BRITISH are anxious to re-conquer Burma. They are using Indian resources and man-power to achieve this end. The Anglo-American Air Force had carried out indiscriminate bombing in Thailand and Burma. The Japanese are now paying them back in their own coin. They are making reprisal raids on British bases in India Under these circumstances, Indians should either force the Anglo-Americans to leave their country or have it without grumbling. My heart sank when I heard of the Japanese raids on Calcutta and Chittagong I have passed a part of my life there, and have many friends in both places. They should patiently bear this misfortune. Indians should evacuate the towns near British cantonments and factories They should hold demonstrations as a protest against the Anglo-American attempt to re-capture Burma They should not allow the British and the Americans to raid Thailand and Burma It is not the Japanese who are responsible for the raids on Indian towns It is the British and the Americans who have brought this calamity on them.

Bengal should take the lead in the Indian war of independence. and stake her all for the attainment of freedom. Every nation has to pay a heavy price for freedom, and we too will have to make sacrifices. I hope you will do your duty to your country

Long live Free India

From a broadcast from Berlin January 6 1943

FREEDOM STRUGGLE SURVEYED

ON THIS day, January 26, Indians in every part of the world assemble to observe their Independence Day. On this day, they gather together under their national flag for the purpose of reaffirming their undying faith in independence and also their unshakable determination to carry on the national struggle till victory is achieved. On this day in India, the tri-colour flag is hoisted in every home, processions are taken out everywhere and meetings and demonstrations are held all over the country, where the Independence Manifesto is read and solemnly adopted. Not always are the Indian people allowed to perform this national ceremony without let or hindrance. Again and again, they are obliged to act in defiance of official prohibition and in direct opposition to the armed forces of the British Crown. Just twelve years ago, while leading a peaceful procession on Independence Day as Mayor of India's largest city, Calcutta, I and my fellow processionists were attacked and brutally assaulted by British mounted police till permanent marks of injury were left on our persons. But our lot was nevertheless better than that of those who had to face the bayonets and rifle shots.

Today, my thoughts naturally go out to our people at home who have to observe Independence Day in defiance of tear gas and police batons, bayonets and machine-guns. So wonderful is the Atlantic Charter, for which the Allied Powers are fighting, that in India all public meetings and demonstrations have been permanently prohibited and a reign of terror has been let loose over the whole land simply because the Indian National Congress had the audacity to demand freedom and democracy for the Indian people.

To offer some kind of moral justification for the British domination and exploitation of India, British propagandists have depicted India as a land where there is no unity, where the people are eternally fighting among themselves and where the strong hand of Britain is necessary to maintain order and ensure progress. But these presumptuous Britishers conveniently forget that, long before their forefathers knew anything about administration or national unity—in fact, long before the Romans came to Britain to teach culture and civilization to the uncivilized Britons—India had not only an advanced culture and civilization, but a modern Empire founded by Chandra Gupta, extending from Cape Comorin in the south to Afghanistan in the north, an Empire that was geographically larger than the India of today. And India is a country where the past has not been forgotten,

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Address to an Independence Day meeting in Berlin, January 26, 1943

but where past history and tradition live in our blood and in the marrow of our bones.

It is because of this national self-consciousness that neither political domination nor economic improverishment have been able to kill our soul. Organized British rule in India dates from the year 1858, that is after the failure of the great revolution of 1857. If prior to this period, India could live and prosper for thousands of years without the help of Britain, she can do the same in future, when she is free once again.

After the revolution of 1857, the British realized that by sheer brute force they could not hold India for long. They, therefore, proceeded to disarm the country. Along with disarmament, the newly established British Government, now controlled directly from London, commenced its policy of 'divide and rule'. This policy of 'divide and rule' has been the fundamental basis of the British rule from 1858 till today. For nearly forty years, the policy was to keep India divided by keeping three-fourths of the people directly under British control and the remaining one-fourth under the Indian princes. Simultaneously, the British Government showed a great deal of partiality for the big landlords in British India.

By the beginning of the present century, the British realized, however, that they could no longer dominate India by simply playing the princes and the big landlords against the people. Then in the year 1906, they discovered the Muslim problem when Lord Minto was Viceroy. Prior to this, there was no such problem in India. In the great revolution of 1857, Hindus and Muslims had fought side by side against the British, and it was under the flag of Bahadur Shah, a Muslim, that India's first war of independence had been fought. During the last World War, when the British found that further political concessions would have to be made to the Indian people, they realized that it was not enough to try and separate the Muslims from the rest of the population. They also set about trying to divide the Hindus themselves. In this way they discovered the caste problem in 1918 and suddenly became the champions and the liberators of the so-called depressed classes. In the General Election held under the new Constitution of 1935, they found, however, to their great surprise, that all their tricks and bluffs had failed and that a strong nationalist feeling permeated the whole nation and every section of it. Consequently, British policy has now fallen back on its last hope. If the Indian people cannot be divided, then the country, India, has to be divided geographically and politically. This is the plan called Pakistan which emanated from the fertile brain of a Britisher.

Though the vast majority of the Indian Muslims want a free and independent India, though the President of the Indian National Cong-

ress today is Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, a Muslim, and though only a minority of the Indian Muslims support the idea of Pakistan, British propaganda throughout the world gives the impression that the Indian Muslims are not behind the national struggle for liberty and want India to be divided. The British themselves know that what they propagate is quite false, but they nevertheless hope that by repeating a falsehood again and again, they will be able to make the world believe it.

I have taken so much of your time in analysing British policy in India, because I want to tell you that, though we have in British imperialism a cunning and diabolical enemy, we know our enemy inside out and there is no possibility of a compromise between India and Britain. We have nothing in common and our national interests are diametrically opposed. The Tripartite Powers are today at war with British imperialism. But India is engaged in a struggle with her eternal foe, British imperialism.

British imperialism and Indian nationalism cannot exist simultaneously. One must die if the other has to live. And since Indian Nationalism must live, British imperialism must die. The struggle which is now going on in India is in reality a continuation of the great revolution of 1857 In the last four decades of the 19th century, the Indian movement expressed itself in agitation in the press and on the platform. This movement was crystalized into one organization when the Indian National Congress was inaugurated in 1885. The beginning of this century saw a new awakening in India, and along with it new methods of struggle were devised. Thus during the first two decades, we saw the economic boycott of British goods on the one side and revolutionary terrorism on the other. The Indian revolutionaries made a desperate attempt to overthrow British rule with the help of arms during the last war at a time when Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey were fighting our enemy But they, the Indian revolutionaries, were unfortunately crushed

After the war, India needed a new weapon of struggle, and at this psychological moment came Mahatma Gandhi with his method of Satyagraha or passive resistance. During the last twenty-two years, the Congress, under the Mahatma's leadership, has built up a powerful organization all over the country, including the States of the princes. It has awakened political life in the remotest villages and among all sections of the people Most important of all is the fact that the masses of India have learnt how to strike at a powerful enemy even without arms The Congress under Gandhi's leadership has demonstrated that it is possible to paralyse the administration with the weapon of passive resistance. The younger generation in India has, however, learnt from the last twenty years' experience that, while

passive resistance can hold up or paralyse a foreign administration, it cannot overthrow or expel it without the use of physical force

Impelled by this experience, the people today are spontaneously passing on from passive resistance to active fighting, and that is why you read and hear today of the unarmed Indian people destroying railway, telegraph and telephone communications, setting fire to police stations, post offices and government buildings and using force in many other ways in order to overthrow the British yoke

I have participated in all the campaigns from 1921 to 1941 During this period, I have been in British custody eleven times, and on most occasions without any trial in a court of law From this experience, as well as from the information that I possess regarding the present campaign in India, I can assert without any exaggeration that it is impossible for the British Government to suppress the movement this time.

There are internal and external causes which account for my optimism. Among the internal causes, I may say that the campaign is spread all over India, that the people of princely states are also participating in an all-India fight, and that the movement has spontaneously developed from passive resistance to active fighting. Among the external causes, I may say that India is not fighting alone this time. The Tripartite Powers and their Allies are also our allies in a common struggle against a common foe, and even the masses in India surely realize that India has now an opportunity to achieve her liberty, which is indeed rare in history And what is most important of all is that there is a wide-spread conviction in India that this war will end with the defeat and break-up of the British Empire

We in India had always regretted that, during the last war, the then leaders had not utilized the war situation to our advantage. It was, therefore, necessary for me to leave India this time in order to establish direct personal contact with the enemies of British imperialism, and thereby link up India's fight for freedom with the struggle of the Tripartite Powers against our old enemy, Britain. Though the Indian people must rely primarily on themselves for achieving their liberty, anything that weakens Britain automatically helps them, and it would be indeed foolish not to take the fullest advantage of such assistance which fate and history have provided them.

What I have been doing outside India has the fullest support of the vast majority of my countrymen As a matter of fact, there is now full accord between Indians fighting at home and those working abroad for the common goal of India's emancipation I should not, however, give the impression that we are fully content with what has already been achieved at home. We are content only in so far as the movement is now a dynamic one and has developed into an active

resistance and is too powerful to be crushed by the armed forces of the Anglo-American powers. The present phase of the campaign has a two-fold object, to obstruct the administration of India, and to destroy Britain's war production in that country. But we must sooner or later pass on to the last phase of the struggle, namely, an armed revolution for destroying British imperialism in India.

We, the people of India, are convinced that we shall be free before long. We have a right to exist, not only for ourselves but for the sake of humanity, for India represents one-fifth of the human race. A free India will be able to contribute in a large measure to the culture and civilization of the world. A free India will bring about the end of British imperialism, which has been responsible for the enslavement, impoverishment an exploitation of large sections of the human race. A free India will mean the end of all those wars which have taken place in the past in Europe and elsewhere in the attempt to dominate India. A free India will mean that the countries of the Near, Middle and Far East will breathe freely, for there will be no Power to threaten their freedom and security any longer. And, last but not least, a free India will be responsible for initiating a revolutionary change in the present economic order of the world.

I have no doubt that a free India will be a blessing to the whole world with the single exception of Great Britain and she will be an advantage to every other nation desiring to have cultural and economic relations with her. The industrialization of a vast country like India, inhabited by three hundred and eighty eight millions of human beings, will have colossal and far-reaching repercussions throughout the modern industrial world. We, who are engaged in the fight for India's liberty, know exactly what we shall do in a free India. We are, therefore, preparing plans for national reconstruction for building up a new India. The task of reconstruction in free India is one which will interest not only the people of India, but the entire civilized world as well.

In conclusion, I thank from the bottom of my heart, in the name of my country, all those generous men and women in different parts of the world who have demonstrated their sympathy for India's struggle for freedom. On our part, I assure them that we shall fight to the last, till our enemy is overthrown and victory is achieved. In this struggle, which is for India a life and death struggle, a struggle for the vindication of justice and truth there will be but one end, our victory and our freedom.

CALL TO CEYLON

INDIA'S BRAVE and courageous fight for liberty has produced a profound impression all over the world. In fact, people did not at first believe the reports of British terror and brutality in India, but leaders in England were compelled to make speeches in order to justify large-scale shootings on unarmed men and women in our country. From these speeches the outside world was convinced that India was in a state of rebellion and that the reports emanating from India were quite correct and by no means exaggerated. Friends, I now want to assure you that the news of the internal happenings in India is regularly travelling to all quarters of the globe. The British cannot any longer isolate India from the rest of the world. I have noticed that every day that passes brings to the Indian people more and more sympathy from even the most unexpected quarters. All over the world India is today on the front page of the daily Press; and from the enemies of British Imperialism India can expect not only sympathy but any help that she may need in her struggle for liberty. It is for the Indian people to decide if they need any help from abroad and if so to what extent.

Friends, I must also tell you that your countrymen in Europe, America and the Far East fully realize that India has a golden opportunity for overthrowing the British yoke. On the occasion of Independence Day, Indians in Germany expressed their complete solidarity with the struggle now going on at home, and they are doing their very best to help and support that struggle. What is more important, many of them have already decided to participate in the last phase of our national struggle.

So far as India is concerned, the next turning point will come soon and when that hour arrives and the last phase of the national struggle begins, India will have to strike her final blow. This last blow will be the death blow to the British Empire and it will, therefore, be India's privilege to end that satanic empire. Friends, from what I have myself seen and experienced during my stay abroad, I am convinced more than ever before that the British Empire will be overthrown and broken up, and out of the ashes of that empire will emerge a free India. I, therefore, call upon all my countrymen to give up fear, doubt and hesitation and come forward to help the national struggle to the best of their ability. It is absolutely clear that time is now working against Britain and her Allies and is working for India. We must, therefore, continue the fight at any cost and by all means. We must definitely

Broadcast from Berlin, March 1, 1943

make up our minds to continue the fight for at least two years and to sacrifice at least 100,000 lives in the course of the struggle. Long before this period of two years comes to an end India will certainly be free. Our slogan should therefore be : "We shall fight for two years and we shall sacrifice 100,000 lives for the freedom of our country." If you can do that and I can do that, I guarantee you success and liberty.

Let me remind you once again that the two-fold object of the non-violent guerilla warfare that you are now carrying on should be to paralyze the civil administration in India and, secondly, to destroy war production in India I should also like to tell you that the time has come to intensify our propaganda within the Indian Army. This could be done best by sending our party men in large numbers into the ranks of the Indian Army. In the last phase of the national struggle the Indian Army will have to play an important role. You must have realized by now that in future Bengal will have to play a most important role in this fight for freedom. Let all my sisters and brothers in Bengal prepare for this contingency.

I must again call upon my sisters and brothers in Ceylon to come forward and march shoulder to shoulder with us for winning our common liberty. This is a golden opportunity not only for India but for Ceylon as well. When India has been waging a gigantic fight for overthrowing British Imperialism, the task of Ceylon has become very much easier than it would otherwise have been As for India, so also for Ceylon, the watch-word should be 'Now or Never'. Ceylon can hope to be free only when she stands and fights with India.

Friends, do not be carried away for one moment by the propaganda carried on by Anglo-American agencies Look at the map of the world yourselves and you will understand the position today. Except in Africa, the Allies have not made any success anywhere in the world worth the name ; and even in Africa, the Allies have not achieved what they promised to the whole world. General Eisenhower is still marking time and sometimes retreating in North Africa. To hide the shame of defeat, they have been saying that the most important theatre of war is Russia and not Africa In Europe, British power and influence simply does not exist In Russia, the real position will be apparent to anybody who looks at the respective positions of the two armies. In the Far East, the Anglo-Americans have received a shattering defeat and Japanese forces now stand on the eastern frontiers of India. The repeated declarations of the Japanese Prime Minister, General Tojo, have informed the world and the Indian people as to what the Japanese policy in Asia is, and what the Japanese policy towards India really is The final decision of this war will be not in Africa but in Europe and in Asia , and one can see for oneself

where the Anglo-American forces stand today in Europe and in Asia They are in a desperate position and any amount of loud and boastful propaganda cannot save them.

In conclusion, I call upon you to exert yourself to the utmost in this most critical hour in our history. Victory is assured. Time is working for us. Our allies abroad are all ready to help us. What more can we desire? We have only to continue the struggle, come what may, and no matter what the sacrifice may be. Be confident that India is going to be free, and that before long.

Down with British Imperialism! Long Live Free India! Long Live Revolution!

THE JALLIANWALA BAGH DAY

COUNTRYMEN AT home and abroad, in the sacred memory of the martyrs of Amritsar, let us today swear the destruction of British power in India. Let us today refresh our memories of British territorism and breach of good faith. Let us today swear to do or die for the complete independence of India. The 13th of April has been observed as a day of national mourning all over India for the last twenty-four years. I am confident that the time will soon come when this day will be celebrated as India's national festival of emancipation and victory.

From a statement issued on April 13, 1943

ON ARRIVAL IN JAPAN

WHILE IN India I had a long association with journalism and as such I now offer my sincere greetings to you who are engaged in journalism. Many of you might wonder as to the reason for my arrival in this part of the world at this time. For many a year the British prisons in India and Burma were my home. But if, instead of rotting in the den of an Indian prison, I am standing in your midst today in the capital of Japan, it is only symbolic of the new momentum gained by the wide-spread movement for independence in my country.

I left my country some two years back at the wish of my compatriots. From that time, all that I do every day is in conformity with their ideas. During the last great war our leaders were deceived by the cunning British diplomats. We took a decision some twenty years ago that we would never again be cheated In the past twenty years of my generation all the Indians have been fighting for freedom and have been waiting for the opportune moment, which has now come. Such an opportunity will not repeat itself again for a hundred years to come. We are therefore determined to utilize it to the fullest extent.

Very often it is said that this war is being waged only for saving liberty and democracy. But you can very well appreciate the feelings of my compatriots against the Anglo-Saxons, who talk tall about liberty and democracy which are denied to our people forming one-fifth of the human race, and who through terror and brutal cruelty are massacring unarmed and innocent men, women and children.

Spiritual degradation, cultural degeneration, dire poverty and political slavery are the only things which India got from British Imperialism. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Indian people have once and for all risen up boldly to smash the British chains and attain freedom. Indians view the present World War as a struggle between two ideologies. It is a struggle between those who want the *status quo* to continue and those who are determined to tear that old rag into pieces. In such a struggle, if that party which stands for change gets our sympathy nobody can blame us for that. Our sincere support is for the New Order. Under the circumstances we will give our sincere sympathy and support only to those who uphold such an ideal.

Whatever the propaganda humbug of the Anglo-Americans, I can say with certainty that the Indians are praying for the victory of the

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Statement to the Press made on June 19, 1943, on arrival in Japan from Germany, retranslated from the Tamil version published by the *Tamil Nesan*, Kuala Lumpur

Axis Powers. If the Axis Powers win, the tyranny of Anglo-American Imperialism will come to an end, British Imperialism will be smashed to pieces, and India will regain her lost freedom.

By declaring war on our permanent enemy, the Axis Powers have given the greatest help to India in her fight for freedom. Since they have not stopped with the mere expression of sympathy but are actively rendering us large-scale aid, we are sincerely grateful to them. We should, however, get our freedom only by shedding our own blood. We will be able to preserve our freedom only if we get it through our own sacrifice and toil.

We, therefore, feel that we should take an active part in this war against our common enemy. Since the enemy fights with his sword we too should fight with the sword. The non-violent struggle should transform itself into a violent one. Only if a large number of Indians undergo this baptism of fire can they win the race and get the reward of freedom.

However long the war may continue, I have full faith in the total victory of the Three Powers. I am not surprised at the empty shouts about opening a second front in Europe. If empty propaganda can give victory in a war then our enemies could have won long, long ago. Unlike the last great World War, the conditions are not favourable to the Anglo-Americans now. Even Churchill had to admit this publicly in Washington. I therefore have no doubt about the victory of the Axis Powers

You may be eager to know the sentiments of Indians towards Japan. Japan was the first country which prevented the people of an alien continent from committing aggression in the Asian continent. Japan's victory over Russia in 1905 was the first harbinger of Asian resurgence. That victory was hailed with great joy not only by the Japanese but also by the Indians. Therefore, Indians feel that the existence of a strong Japan is essential for the reconstruction of Asia.

It is true that India's views on Japan underwent some change following the Chinese affair. But after the beginning of the great East Asia war the situation has become different. Today Japan is waging war against our common enemy; Chungking has joined our enemies. Any Indian who is participating in the struggle for liberating India is bound to be friendly with that country which supports his cause. Further, Indians are now asking why Chiang Kai-shek has not come to some honourable settlement with Japan, and why he is relying on and serving as a tool of the Anglo-Americans even after the announcement of Japan's new policy on China.

For the past twenty centuries India and Japan had been maintaining close cultural relations. Because of the British rule in India these contacts were somewhat interrupted. But when India becomes free

these ties will again be strengthened It is but natural that Indians will co-operate closely with Japan so that they may live in complete freedom in their country and shape their national destiny independently.

It should be pointed out in this connection that the statements on India made by Prime Minister Tojo from March 1942 onwards have gone deep into the mind of the Indian people and have added strength to the Indian freedom movement.

I am glad to note the progress of the Japanese people as exemplified by great heroes like Fleet Admiral Yamamodo and also their strength in the economic and other fields

In conclusion I should like to express my firm faith in the victory of the Axis Powers and in the liberation of the 40 crores of Indian people.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE NOT ENOUGH

INDIA WILL get freedom through an armed struggle coupled with a civil disobedience movement. But civil disobedience alone will not be enough.

Civil disobedience throws the British Government into utter confusion. But civil disobedience alone is not enough to overthrow the British. As the British Government relies on the strength of bayonets, we too should use bayonets in order to defeat them decisively. As the enemy stands before us with the drawn sword, we should fight him only with the aid of the sword.

Non-violence is the life-long creed of Mahatma Gandhi. But so far as the people are concerned, it is only a tactic, a temporary tactic, a tactic which is temporarily useful. But they will take up arms as the times change.

Freedom cannot be given by others. Indians should win it through their own struggle and sacrifice.

The movement of the Indians living outside India will naturally affect the movement inside India . Prime Minister Tojo is interested in the Indian movement. He is not only interested but is eager to help this cause. Even a strong Power like Britain is getting help from America—in fact Churchill is prostrating before Roosevelt. If Britain can get the help of other Powers, why can't the Indians do the same?

The trend of the war, climaxed by the glorious victories in Malaya, Singapore and Burma, has very much helped the Indian freedom movement. I am very optimistic about this war and also in my expectations from my countrymen. There will be an effective and voluntary uprising.

The happenings in India are just one aspect of the happenings in other parts of the world. America, under Roosevelt, is trying to get the assets of the British Empire—economic and territorial—transferred to herself. This is going on all over the world and is slowly taking shape in India too Before the war, America's policy towards India was one of sympathy but after the beginning of the war the Americans are claiming that this is the century of America and that America should dominate the world. This has made us suspect the motives of America as well as Britain.

Extracts from remarks at a Press conference held at the Imperial Hotel, Tokyo on June 19, 1943, retranslated from the Tamil version published by the *Tamil Nesan*, Kuala Lumpur

TO THE GERMAN AND ITALIAN PEOPLE

MY SINCERE thanks are due to the German Government who showed admirable hospitality to me when I was in Germany. The enemies' propaganda that there is famine in Germany and that she is removing food-stuff from other European countries is completely absurd.

From my conversations with Hitler and other German leaders I know how great is their interest in India and their sympathy for the Indian struggle for independence. I do not know whether you are aware of the great sympathy which the Indian people have been feeling for Germany from the last Great War. The reason for that sympathy is that Germany had fought against our mortal foe. Therefore, this second war against our common enemy has increased that sympathy hundred-fold.

The enemies are making much fuss about their capture of some useless, small islands in the Mediterranean like Fontellaria and Pedusa. From the noise they are making in Washington and London it appears that they hope that the capture of these islands would ensure their conquest of the European continent itself. But when our enemies could not achieve anything from the Malta base for such a long time, what can they do from these islands?

The outcome of this war is going to be decided in Europe, Asia and on the great oceans. I do not have an atom of doubt about the victory of the Axis Powers. The solidarity of the Axis Powers is indeed very strong.

Here in Japan, too, one may notice everywhere the people's self-confidence and limitless faith in ultimate victory. The inexhaustible energy and emotion of the famous Fleet Admiral Yamamodo are shared by the men, women and children all over the country. The economic condition—particularly the food position—is quite satisfactory and will go on improving. All the abundant resources which had previously been under the control of the anti-Axis authorities have already been harnessed quickly and are being developed.

The strong sense of unity among the Three Powers, coupled with their matchless heroism and skill, assure us that final victory will be ours. I have the same strong faith in the victory of the Three Powers in this war as I have in the quick liberation of my motherland.

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Messages broadcast from Tokyo Radio, retranslated from the Tamil version published in the *Tamil Nesan*, Kuala Lumpur, dated June 23, 1943

ALL THE Indian patriots and revolutionaries have, from their childhood, read and heard about the makers and founders of modern Italy I have known your great leader Il Duce for many years I have always noticed in him a clear understanding of and deep sympathy for our freedom movement I have been receiving this sympathy long before the beginning of this war, when peace was prevailing in the world.

It is very strange that even though innumerable Englishmen and Americans have visited your country they have understood but little of your mind and character That is why they think they can undermine the morale of the Italian people and instigate them to revolt against their cause and against their leader by the double tactic of false propaganda and indiscriminate bombing

BEWARE OF COMPROMISE OFF

WHEN WE talk of India's freedom there is no room for compromise. All Indians should realize this fully. There is only one meaning to freedom: the British and their friends should *en bloc* leave India with their bag and baggage.

Those who thirst for freedom should necessarily fight for it tooth and nail, and should pay the price in the form of their blood. We should therefore carry on the struggle from outside as well as inside India. We should fight with all our energy and vigour. If we work with strong will and faith, the Anglo-American imperialist madness will be curbed in the end, the British Empire will crumble, and free India will rise up with a new life.

Whatever might happen in the world, the British will never change their policy of imperialist domination over India. The British Empire will rather end than bend itself. No Indian, therefore, need think even in his dreams that Britain would recognize the freedom of India one day or other.

As British Imperialism owes its growth to India, the British are tenaciously holding on to it. All the Britishers, to whichever party they may belong, have fattened themselves on the wealth looted from India. Therefore imperialism to them only means India. They have waged bloody wars in order to keep this empire in their hands.

If the British were to win this war by recognizing the freedom of India it will only be a victory minus the empire. In order to save this empire, John Bull is shedding his blood profusely. The only way to compensate this loss at least partially will be to exploit India after the war with unprecedented rapacity. According to the logic of the imperialists, therefore, the more the deterioration of Britain's position the more will be the necessity of strengthening their domination over India.

However, I expect that the British politicians may make some sign of compromise before the year is out. But I wish to emphasize that such a sign will only be a fraud. Just as they did between December 1941 and December 1942, the British will only try to divert the Indians from the freedom struggle and to undermine the country's determination and morale by protracted negotiations.

The Anglo-Americans are bluffing that they will start counter-attacks on Burma. But the important thing to be noted by us is that their publicity stunt of reconquering Burma has only ended in their shameful withdrawal. The victorious Japanese army is now right on the

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Broadcast from Tokyo, retranslated from the Tamil version published in the *Tamil Nesan*. Kuala Lumpur, dated June 23, 1943

eastern frontiers of our country. The Japanese Government through their illustrious Prime Minister have repeatedly announced that they fully support the cause of Indian freedom and that they are determined to root out Anglo-American domination and influence from India. Further, the Japanese Prime Minister has said that, if the Indian revolutionaries in their struggle for complete independence require it, Japan would give them effective assistance.

If Singapore which had been built in twenty years as a military base was to be lost in a week's time, then how many days will it take for the British Supreme Commander who is always on the run, or his successor, to withdraw from the frontier strongholds?

NEED FOR DIRECT ACTION

WITHOUT ANY strength of arms the Indian National Congress was established in the year 1885 Under the then conditions the only methods available to the Congress were to build up a strong public opinion and to propagate from the platform During the period from 1840 to 1900 the desire for liberty was first roused among the Indians by the brave fight for freedom put up by the Boers.

Then the victory of Japan in her war for defending Asia from Russian aggression instilled faith into the hearts of the Indian people that their freedom movement was bound to end in victory. As a result of the Japanese triumph, the Indians were convinced that they could not win the freedom struggle through peaceful methods like platform speeches, etc. This idea struck roots particularly among the youth. Because of this they brought pressure on the Indian National Congress to adopt methods like economic boycott and the like.

Not satisfied with such methods of opposing Britain, the Indian youths sent students to foreign countries to study other ways and means of achieving freedom. Young Indians went to Japan to study the tactics and the national characteristics which helped her to defeat Russia Many other students went to France and Switzerland to learn the art of manufacturing arms for the revolutionary movement, and to study effective methods of agitation. As a result of the studies of these youths abroad, small arms like revolvers came to be used in the political agitation of 1907.

The Indian youths who were engaged in direct armed struggle failed, due to lack of proper leadership, to utilize the last World War to the advantage of their freedom struggle. During the last World War any youth who tried to spread disaffection among the troops or to instigate acts of sabotage in the factories was arrested and incarcerated. The time was not yet ripe for an open movement. After the war the British adopted cruel and repressive measures to suppress the Indians.

On seeing the attitude and methods of the British, even Mahatma Gandhi got angry and he gave up his friendship for them for ever and announced to the world his grim determination to fight against Britain for liberating India. Throughout the country anti-British feeling spread openly and strengthened itself. During this period many British officials were murdered and many British camps were burnt down.

In retaliation, thousands of Indians were massacred and the British

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Address to Imperial Consultative Political Council, Tokyo, on June 23, 1943, retranslated from the Tamil version published by the *Tamil Nesan*, Kuala Lumpur

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unleashed brutal oppression everywhere. When the anti-British movement was suppressed in this manner the Indian people were perplexed about the next step in their freedom struggle It was then that Mahatma Gandhi taught them Civil Disobedience It was the view of Mahatma Gandhi that if the Indian people completely ignored all the Acts and regulations of the British, and if they refused, in a disciplined manner, to co-operate with them, then the British administrative machinery would come to a standstill.

Had Mahatma Gandhi given his support to direct action after the starting of the present World War it would have resulted in hastening the achievement of freedom

It is my firm conviction that Mother India can only be freed by resisting the British tyranny with armed might, and that the Indians cannot liberate India without shedding their blood Freedom gained without shedding our blood will not be real freedom We are determined to fight against Britain, our enemy, with all our strength

I very well know that the Japanese Government will give all kinds of assistance for the success of the Indian freedom struggle I am determined to use all my energy to achieve the only objective of myself and of my compatriots, the objective of Independence The declaration of General Hideki Tojo, Japan's Prime Minister, in the Imperial Diet of Japan has made the Indians understand clearly that Japan will render sincere support to the Indian struggle for independence

THIS WAR AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

COUNTRYMEN AND friends! I want to deal in the first place with the meaning of this war, and the historical facts lying behind it. Well, this war is a clash between the forces that want to maintain the *status quo* in the world and the new forces that are determined to destroy it in order to usher in a new order. The former includes the Anglo-American imperialistic powers that have been masquerading under the cloak of freedom and democracy. Victory to these imperialistic powers would mean the perpetuation of our servitude as well as the continued enslavement of many other unfortunate nations.

In this titanic conflict our national interest clearly lies in allying ourselves with those young and virile nations who are determined to overthrow the *status quo* and thereby give us a chance of winning our liberty.

It should be fully evident that the Tripartite Powers by fighting our age-long enemy and inflicting terrible defeats on him have been indirectly helping our national struggle to a remarkable degree. If our enemy had not been mortally wounded by these Powers, our task of achieving liberty would have been a hundred times more difficult than it is today. We are grateful for this, but we are even more grateful that the Tripartite Powers are not only content with giving us indirect help, but have been offering active support and assistance in our fight for freedom.

I know that there are some countrymen of mine who, having been brought up in English institutions and having been influenced by English propaganda, doubt the merits of the Tripartite Powers. I would ask those countrymen to put their trust in me, for the powerful British Government that has persecuted me all my life and has imprisoned me eleven times has not been able to demoralize me. No power on earth can hope to do so. And if the wily, cunning and resourceful British politicians have failed to cajole and corrupt me, nothing else can do so.

In all the Axis countries I have visited, I have not only studied very closely the public opinion in regard to India, but I have also acquainted myself at first hand with the attitude and policy of the three Governments. The latest declaration of Premier Tojo made at the Imperial Diet on 16th June 1943, which I had the privilege of hearing personally, following my interview with him on 14th June, was absolutely clear and unequivocal. In the course of that statement, which will live in history for all times as an epoch-making declaration, His Excellency said: "Japan is firmly resolved to extend means in order to help to expel and eliminate from India the Anglo-Saxon influences which are

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Broadcast from Tokyo, June 24, 1943

the enemy of the Indian people, and enable India to achieve full independence in the true sense of the term."

Friends! I know some anti-Axis people have been making efforts to mislead the Indian people by suggesting that it is unbelievable that the Axis Powers should become so generous as to support India's demand for independence. But to me the attitude of every Axis Power is both natural and easily understandable. Today, the Axis Powers and India have a common enemy, and therefore a common interest and objective.

The Axis Powers must in their own interest and in order to ensure their own freedom and prosperity in the future, defeat and overthrow the British Empire. In order to achieve that aim they must expel the Anglo-American Powers and influence from India, and they must do this even if the Indian people preferred to remain under the British yoke. Knowing, however, that the Indian people have been struggling for their freedom, the sympathy of the Axis Powers naturally goes out to them. Moreover, if India could achieve her national emancipation from the British Empire, it will be of advantage to the whole world including the Axis Powers. Reason and commonsense should therefore easily comprehend why the Axis Powers have adopted so friendly an attitude towards the Indian independence movement.

Having been completely foiled in their anti-Axis and anti-Japanese propaganda, the Anglo-American imperialists and their hirelings have fallen back on their last subterfuge. Referring to Premier Tojo's repeated declarations, they have been saying that these declarations are the embodiment of policies intended to bluff gullible and credulous people. There is an old saying in Sanskrit which you all know· *atmawat manyate jagat*—which means that a man would judge the world according to his own nature. Being hypocrites themselves, these people think that everybody else is a hypocrite.

However, Premier Tojo has given the most effective and crushing reply to such vile propaganda by declaring to the world that before the end of the present year both Burma and the Philippines will have independence in reality. I wonder what new arguments our enemies can possibly invent for their anti-Axis propaganda when this year is out.

Countrymen! You are aware that towards the end of 1940, since I saw that Mahatma Gandhi had at long last launched the civil disobedience campaign, I felt that the honour and prestige of the Indian people had been vindicated and it was necessary to plan the Indian revolution on a larger scale and in an effective manner in order to bring it to fruition. But, for that, it was necessary to have information on the international situation and to establish contact with the Axis Powers and to secure the active assistance of our countrymen

abroad. Today I am in a position to announce to you that all these objectives have been fully achieved.

Firstly, we know the international situation at first hand and we are therefore convinced of our ultimate victory.

Secondly, we know at first hand that the Axis Powers in general, and Japan in particular, are the best friends and allies that the Indian people now have in their struggle for freedom.

Thirdly, all Indians outside India, who are not living in countries directly under the control of our enemies, have now been brought together into one well-knit organization. They are closely following developments inside India and, on the other hand, they are keeping unimpeded contact with international events. They are making all possible preparations to bring at the right time the maximum assistance to you who have been carrying on this struggle at home in spite of internment, persecution and brutality.

Friends! You may remember that I have in the past assured you more than once that, when the hour strikes, I, and many others like myself, will be by your side to share the glory of fighting and suffering side by side and to share with you the joy of victory as well

The British Broadcasting Corporation has said that I did not have the slightest intention of fulfilling my pledge. I would like to tell them that my pledge, which had been given not to the B.B.C. but to my countrymen, will be redeemed in the fullness of time. Now I am not far from the Indian frontier. No power on earth was able to hamper my movements since January 1941; and no power on earth will be able to prevent my crossing the frontier once again in order to participate in the last phase of our national struggle.

Countrymen and friends! In conclusion let me convey through you to our comrades in prison and in internment my brotherly greetings. Tell them to be of good cheer. They have upheld the honour and prestige of our country. Through their sufferings, they have declared to the whole world that enslaved India is at war with Britain. I and all those who have been working outside India are proud of them. Not a day passes without our paying humble homage to their noble martyrdom I assure them once again that their sufferings will not be in vain. India shall be free, and before long. And a free India will throw open the prison gates so that her worthy sons may step out of the darkness of the prison cells into the light of freedom, joy and self-fulfilment.

Inquilab Zindabad! Azad Hind Zindabad!

TO THE PEOPLE OF JAPAN

INDIA HAS not only been suffering so long from British rule, she has also been the victim of hypocritical, diabolical and mischievous propaganda. I therefore request you not to be misled by the enemy's propaganda and not to mistake India even unconsciously.

Today's India is not what the British have portrayed to you. In today's India one cannot see the same conditions which were found twenty-five years back. Indeed, today's India is completely different from the India which existed even seven years back.

In today's India, in New India, there are no caste or communal differences. She no longer bothers herself about metaphysical subtleties. New India only wants her national freedom; her only quest is to liberate herself completely from the British yoke.

By declaring war on our permanent enemy and by inflicting defeat after defeat on him, you have given us a rare opportunity to win our freedom by our own efforts. We fully realize this and are grateful to you. We fully realize that if we miss this chance we will not get such a opportunity again for another century. We are therefore determined to utilize the present opportunity. We firmly believe that we are sure to win this time and India will be free and will be for Indians.

Brothers and sisters of Japan! Some forty years ago, when I had first learnt to read and write, I heard that an Asian country called Japan had defeated the most powerful empire on earth in open warfare. Only then we came to know names like Mukden, Port Arthur and Tsushima Young boys used to talk about Admiral Togo and General Nokki with ecstacy. A wave of joy and enthusiasm spread all over India. Even now it is astonishing to think about the Indians' celebration of those incidents which happened in a far-off place. The reason for such joy was the spontaneous feeling that not only Japan but the whole of Asia had been saved.

Some revolutionary leaders from India visited Japan in order to find out the source of Japan's power and to utilize that knowledge to their advantage. Similarly such great men as Gaguso Ogakura visited India and interpreted the courageous mind, philosophy and determination of Japan which had saved her and Asia.

Brothers and sisters of Japan! It is against such a background that we stand today in the midst of a World War. It is not surprising therefore, to see me present among you now

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Message in Hindustani to the Japanese people, broadcast from Tokyo Radio on June 28, 1943, retranslated from the Tamil version published by the *Tamil Nesan*, Kuala Lumpur

From the day I arrived in Japan, people here in every sphere have been showing great sympathy and hospitality to me. From very high authorities down to ordinary citizens, all have showered their affection on me.

Had I come here as a monarch or as an official representative, I might think that you are showing formal hospitality to me But I have not come in any such capacity I have no other introduction except that I am coming from a country which had a glorious past, and that throughout my life I have been fighting against the enemy who deprived my country of her freedom.

Brothers and sisters! Great fighters in the cause of justice! I know that I am standing before you as the symbol of an ideal. By welcoming me you are only welcoming those millions of my countrymen who are fighting for their freedom in the midst of untold oppression and misery. I wish to express my sincere gratitude to you for the love and sympathy which you are extending to us in one of the darkest periods in our history I assure you that we, who are like you the citizens of Asia, will never forget the timely help you are giving us.

ON WAVELL'S APPOINTMENT

THE INTENTION behind the appointment of Lord Wavell as the Viceroy is to increase the repression in India. Through this a military dictatorship has been established in India.

Nevertheless this will only result in pouring oil on the fire of hatred which is rising in India against the British. Indians who are at present engaged in passive resistance are prepared to take active part in any armed resistance that might be started.

After the starting of the present Soviet-German War, the number of people who sympathize with the Communist Party in India has dwindled. The reason for this is the decision of the Indian Communist Party to collaborate with Britain, the ally of the Soviet Union.

From an interview to the Tokyo correspondent of the Italian newspaper, *Messagi Ra*, retranslated from the Tamil version published by the *Tamil Nesan* Kuala Lumpur, dated June 30, 1943

ARMY OF FREEDOM IN EAST ASIA

THE TASK of liberating India is ours, and ours alone. That responsibility we shall not cast on anybody else because that would be against our national honour............

But the enemy is ruthless and desperate and he is armed to the teeth. Against such a foe, no amount of civil disobedience or sabotage or revolutionary terrorism can be of any avail. If, therefore, we want to expel British power from India, we have to fight the enemy with his own weapons. The enemy has already drawn the sword—he must therefore be fought with the sword.

I am confident that with the help of my countrymen in East Asia, I shall be able to organise a gigantic force which will be able to sweep away British power from India .....The hour has struck and every Indian must advance towards the field of battle. When the blood of freedom-loving Indians begins to flow, India will attain her freedom

TIME FOR ARMED STRUGGLE HAS COME

SHRI RASH BEHARI BOSE, representatives of the War of Independence of East Asia, sisters and brothers! I thank you all for unanimously electing me President of the Indian Independence League in East Asia. I accept the honour you have conferred on me of shouldering this responsibility, and shall carry out my duties in accordance with your wishes. If I relate to you my experiences in India and abroad you will agree with me when I say that the blessings of God have been with us so far and have protected and led us on the path of freedom He has raised my hopes and redoubled my power of thinking

Friends, the time to start an armed struggle for freedom has come. Military service and loyalty to the mother country are the most essential things necessary to achieve our goal of freedom during the war I appeal to you, my countrymen in the Far East, to assemble under the common flag. I am pleased to note that this step which you have taken is supported not only by the Indian nationalists in the Far East but by one-fourth of the population of the world For the first time in the history of India, Indians abroad are unanimous and united in their only goal— that of freedom. Indians abroad maintain direct relationship with Indians at home. I can tell you that our representatives have spread themselves throughout India during the past twelve months

Some of our friends were under the impression that Britain would be obliged to yield to our demand for freedom under the pressure of present world circumstances, but their hopes have proved Utopian. It is evident that Britain is determined to exploit India to the maximum both during the war and after it. The British Government has nominated Wavell as Viceroy with the aim of achieving this end. Some Indians believed that a man like Lord Halifax would have been more acceptable to India, but I do not hold that view. The British Government has selected this fugitive General who will be the last Viceroy of India with the deliberate intention of establishing a military dictatorship. The military dictatorship of Wavell will increase the hatred of the Indians for the British, thereby aiding and spurring on the revolution.

Our countrymen should revive the struggle which began with the arrival of Cripps in India during April 1942. No doubt the British Premier will endeavour to maintain British Imperialism Recently he declared that he prefers the phrase "Britain Empire" to "British Commonwealth". The British may offer promises which I must tell you are made to ensnare you. Any compromise with the British will be sheer

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Address to the Indian Independence League Conference in Singapore, July 4, 1943

loss for us, and will prove detrimental to our interests. We must be ready for sacrifice and action. The Axis Powers have facilitated our task by striking shattering blows against our enemies and they will continue fighting our adversaries until they are beaten and prostrate.

Friends, for the last two years I have been carefully studying the course of the war and I can say with absolute confidence that the Axis Powers will achieve final victory. I know that there will be insignificant setbacks in this long war, and hardships will have to be endured to defeat the Anglo-Americans. The situation is favourable to the Axis Powers, though, I must admit, the Anglo-Americans have lately achieved some minor success. You will, however, see that the Anglo-Americans will suffer one defeat after another as time goes on.

Britain, despite her being one of the most powerful countries in the world, did not hesitate to stretch out her hand to others for help. World history bears evidence that no war of independence has been successful without outside help The Axis Powers, who are at war with our enemies, are our friends and helpers. There can be no harm if we seek the aid of the Tripartite Powers if necessary I know that some of my countrymen doubt the sincerity of the Axis Powers. Even a child can understand that the Axis Powers who are fighting our enemies are helping the Indians in their war of independence. The Axis Powers have clearly elucidated their attitude towards us. Moreover. Japan has clarified her policy and explained her attitude towards India, Burma and the Philippines through her mouthpiece, General Tojo. The cunning and unblushing British statesmen and propagandists try to give the lie to Japan's sincere promises. General Tojo has silenced British statesmen by promising to give complete independence to Burma and the Philippines during the current year. The friendly attitude of Japan towards Burma and the Philippines is the best proof of her sincerity, honesty and truthfulness.

Japan is the first Asiatic nation to stand up successfully to the Western Powers. She earnestly desires to see the Asiatic nations free. We have now a good opportunity to free ourselves and lay the foundations of a new world order based on truth, justice and freedom. I ask those who have any doubts or suspicions in their minds to rely upon me. I shall always be loyal to India alone. I will never deceive my motherland I will live and die for India. In my speech over the Tokyo Radio the other day, I told you that the British Government could not bring me to submission by inflicting hardships on me. British statesmen could neither induce me nor deceive me. There is no one who can divert me from the right path.

Every Indian must know that British victory implies the destruction of India. We can realize our aspiration for freedom by the final victory of the Axis Powers. We must take it for granted that we shall be free

with the ultimate success of these powers. Time and circumstances are in our favour. We can win our freedom if we are ready to fight and are prepared to make sacrifices. You might remember that Sir Stafford Cripps returned disappointed to England in May last year. The Indian war of independence then entered a new and important phase. Since then we have been marching forward along the road to freedom. The Satyagraha movement received an impetus, and sabotage activities began after the arrest of Gandhiji in August last. an event which will long be remembered in Indian history. Since then there has been a marked change in the Indians. The time has come when the Indians at home and those abroad should gather together with arms under one leader and await the orders for the destruction of the British imperialists I have decided to form a free India Government in order to bring the different elements together and to collect our strength. The aim of this Provisional Government of India will be to make the Indian revolution a success. It will be the duty of this Government to arm the Indians at home and abroad and to realize our aspirations of freedom with the aid of arms. The task of our Provisional Government will end with the extirpation of British influence from India. The people of India will then be able to set up a National Government. We shall be ready to fight side by side with the Axis soldiers against our enemies when our preparations for armed warfare are completed. We shall pay the price of our freedom with our blood, but by so doing we shall lay the foundation-stone of national unity. We shall be able to maintain our freedom if we attain it through our own sacrifices and blood.

Friends! I thank you lastly for the faith you have placed in me and for the assurance of your co-operation and loyalty. Though I am confident of our final success, I must warn you and ask you not to underestimate the strength of the enemy. We must face the obstructions in our way with boldness and courage Our enemy is not only strong and powerful but is cruel and tyrannous. We shall have to face hard and severe fighting. You will have to endure troubles and unforeseen dangers, but you will be free if you withstand the trials. I am confident that you will reach your goal and lead our poor and down-trodden country to freedom and prosperity Up, up with the Revolution! Long live Free India!

TO DELHI, TO DELHI!

SOLDIERS OF India's Army of Liberation! Today is the proudest day of my life. Today it has pleased Providence to give me the unique privilege and honour of announcing to the whole world that India's Army of Liberation has come into being. This army has now been drawn up in military formation on the battlefield of Singapore—which was once the bulwark of the British Empire This is not only the Army that will emancipate India from the British yoke, it is also the Army that will hereafter create the future national army of Free India. Every Indian must feel proud that this Army—his own Army—has been organized entirely under Indian leadership and that when the historic moment arrives, under Indian leadership it will go to battle.

There are people who thought at one time that the Empire on which the sun did not set was an everlasting empire. No such thought ever troubled me. History had taught me that every empire has its inevitable decline and collapse. Moreover I had seen, with my own eyes, cities and fortresses that were once the bulwarks but which became the graveyards of by-gone empires. Standing today on the graveyard of the British empire, even a child is convinced that the almighty British empire is already a thing of the past.

When France declared war on Germany in 1939 and the campaign began, there was but one cry which rose from the lips of German soldiers—"To Paris, To Paris!" When the brave soldiers of Nippon set out on their march in December 1941 there was but one cry which rose from their lips—"To Singapore, to Singapore!" Comrades! Soldiers! Let your battle-cry be—"To Delhi, To Delhi!" How many of us will individually survive this war of freedom, I do not know. But I do know this, that we shall ultimately win and our task will not end until our surviving heroes hold the victory parade on another graveyard of the British empire—the Lal Kila or Red Fortress of ancient Delhi.

Throughout my public career, I have always felt that though India is otherwise ripe for independence in every way, she has lacked one thing, namely an army of liberation. George Washington of America could fight and win freedom, because he had his army. Garibaldi could liberate Italy, because he had his armed volunteers behind him. It is your privilege and honour to be the first to come forward and organize India's national army. By doing so, you have removed the last obstacle in our path to freedom. Be happy and proud that you are the pioneers, the vanguard, in such a noble cause.

Let me remind you that you have a two-fold task to perform. With

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Speech at a military review of the Indian National Army, July 5, 1943

the force of arms and at the cost of your blood you will have to win liberty. Then, when India is free, you will have to organize the permanent army of Free India, whose task it will be to preserve our liberty for all time. We must build up our national defence on such an unshakable foundation that never again in our history shall we lose our freedom.

As soldiers, you will always have to cherish and live up to the three ideals of faithfulness, duty and sacrifice. Soldiers who always remain faithful to their nation, who are always prepared to sacrifice their lives, are invincible. If you, too, want to be invincible, engrave these three ideals in the innermost core of your hearts

A true soldier needs both military and spiritual training. You must, all of you, so train yourselves and your comrades that every soldier will have unbounded confidence in himself, will be conscious of being immensely superior to the enemy, will be fearless of death, and will have sufficient initiative to act on his own in any critical situation should the need arise. During the course of the present war, you have seen with your own eyes what wonders scientific training, coupled with courage, fearlessness and dynamism, can achieve. Learn all that you can from this example, and build up for Mother India an absolutely first-class modern army.

To those of you who are officers, I should like to say that your responsibility is a heavy one. Though the responsibility of an officer in every army in this world is indeed great, it is far greater in your case. Because of our political enslavement, we have no tradition like that of Mukden, Port Arthur or Sedan to inspire us. We have to unlearn some of the things that the British taught us and we have to learn much that they did not teach. Nevertheless, I am confident that you will rise to the occasion and fulfil the task that your countrymen have thrown on your brave shoulders. Remember always that officers can make or unmake an army Remember too that the British have suffered defeats on so many fronts largely because of worthless officers. And remember also that out of your ranks will be born the future General Staff of the Army of Free India.

To all of you I should like to say that in the course of this war you will have to acquire the experience and achieve the success which alone can build up a national tradition for our Army. An army that has no tradition of courage, fearlessness and invincibility cannot hold its own in a struggle with a powerful enemy.

Comrades! You have voluntarily accepted a mission that is the noblest that the human mind can conceive of. For the fulfilment of such a mission no sacrifice is too great, not even the sacrifice of one's life You are today the custodians of India's national honour and the embodiment of India's hopes and aspirations. So conduct yourself

that your countrymen may bless you and posterity may be proud of you.

I have said that today is the proudest day of my life. For an enslaved people, there can be no greater pride, no higher honour, than to be the first soldier in the army of liberation. But this honour carries with it a corresponding responsibility and I am deeply conscious of it. I assure you that I shall be with you in darkness and in sunshine, in sorrow and in joy, in suffering and in victory. For the present, I can offer you nothing except hunger, thirst, privation, forced marches and death. But if you follow me in life and in death, as I am confident you will, I shall lead you to victory and freedom. It does not matter who among us will live to see India free. It is enough that India shall be free and that we shall give our all to make her free. May God now bless our Army and grant us victory in the coming fight!

Inquilab Zindabad! Azad Hind Zindabad!

WHY I LEFT INDIA

SISTERS AND brothers! Let me first of all thank you for the exceedingly warm and enthusiastic welcome that you have given me today. I am particularly thankful to my sisters who have boldly come forward in such large numbers to give expression to their patriotic feelings. From what I see today, I feel confident that in the coming fight my countrymen in Syonan and in Malaya will play a leading part. What was once a bulwark of British Imperialism has now become a bulwark of Indian Nationalism.

Next, I would like to tell you quite frankly what made me leave home and homeland on a journey that was fraught with danger of every kind.

You know that I have been actively working in the independence movement ever since I left the portals of the university in 1921. I have been through all the civil disobedience campaigns during the last two decades. In addition to this, I have been repeatedly put in prison without trial, on the suspicion of having been connected with a secret revolutionary movement—whether non-violent or violent—with which I have been familiar. I may also assert without the slightest exaggeration that there is no nationalist leader in India who can claim to possess the many-sided experience that I have been able to acquire. In the light of this experience, I came to the conclusion that all the efforts that we could put forward inside India would not suffice to expel the British from our country. If the struggle at home had sufficed to achieve liberty for our people, I would not have been so foolish as to undertake this unnecessary risk and hazard.

To put it briefly, therefore, my object in leaving India was to supplement from outside the struggle going on at home. Without this supplementary help from outside, it is impossible for anybody to liberate India. On the other hand, the supplementary help from outside which the national struggle at home so urgently needs is in reality very small. This is because the defeats inflicted on the British by the Axis Powers have shattered British power and prestige to such an extent that our task has been rendered comparatively easy.

The help that our countrymen at home needed and still need is a two-fold one—moral and material. Firstly, they have to be morally convinced that their victory is assured in the long run. Secondly, they have to be given military help from outside. In order to do the first, one had to study objectively the international war situation and thereby find out what the result of the war was going to be. To do the second

Speech at mass meeting in Singapore, July 9, 1943

one had to find out what Indians outside India could do to help their countrymen at home and also if it was possible to obtain help from the enemies of British Imperialism, should that need arise. Friends! I am now in a position to tell you that both these objectives have been fulfilled. By travelling abroad, I could see things for myself and could study the respective positions of the belligerent Powers. Thereafter, when I came to the conclusion that the defeat of Anglo-American Imperialism was assured, I conveyed that information to my countrymen at home. Then, I was delighted to find that my countrymen all over the world were wide awake and were anxious to undertake their share of the national struggle. I was also gratified to find that the Axis Powers, and Japan in particular, were really eager to see India free and they were prepared to render any help that was within their power, should the Indian people desire it. Moreover, I can ask you to trust me. Not even my enemies will have the audacity to say that I am capable of doing anything against the interests of my country. And if the British Government could not demoralise me or deceive me or allure me, no other power on earth can do so. Therefore, believe me when I say that if you want any external help in your struggle against British Imperialism the Axis Powers will come to your aid. But whether you do need any help or not is for you to decide, and it goes without saying that if you could do without any help, it would be the best course for India. At the same time, I should add that if the almighty British Government can go round the whole world with the begging-bowl asking for help everywhere—even from the enslaved and impoverished people of India—there is nothing wrong in our taking help from outside, if we are forced to do so.

The time has come when I can openly tell the whole world, including our enemies, how it is proposed to bring about our national liberation. Indians outside India, particularly Indians in East Asia, are going to organize a fighting force which will be powerful enough to attack the British Army in India. When we do so, a revolution will break out, not only among the civil population at home but also among the Indian Army which is now standing under the British flag. When the British Government is thus attacked from both sides—from inside India and from outside—it will collapse and the Indian people will then regain their liberty.

According to my plan, therefore, it is not even necessary to bother about the attitude of the Axis Powers towards India. If Indians outside and inside India will only do their duty, it is possible to throw the British out of India and liberate 388 millions of our countrymen.

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There may be croakers who will ask how, if 388 millions of Indians cannot expel British power from India, three millions living abroad hope to do so. But, friends, look at the history of Ireland. If three million Irishmen living under British domination—under a form of martial law —could with the help of five thousand armed Sinn Fein volunteers bring the British Government to its knees in 1921, why cannot three million Indians, backed by a powerful movement at home, hope to throw the British out of India when the aid of powerful Japan is readily available?

I must, however, say that Indians living abroad and particularly in East Asia must put forward their maximum effort. In order to do so effectively, it is my intention to set up a provisional Government of Free India. The task of this Government will be to mobilize all the resources of the Indian people and lead the fight against the British Army in India. When the campaign succeeds and India is free, the Provisional Government will make room for the permanent Government of Free India, which will be set up in accordance with the will of the Indian people.

Friends! You will now realize that the time has come for the three million Indians living in East Asia to mobilize all their available resources including money and man-power. Half-hearted measures will not do. I want Total Mobilization and nothing less, for we have been told repeatedly, even by our enemies, that this is a total war.

You see before you today a part of India's Army of Liberation, the Azad Hind Fauj or the Indian National Army.

They held their ceremonial parade the other day in front of the Town Hall. Thereafter, they resolved that they will not rest till they hold their victory parade before the red fortress of ancient Delhi. They have adopted the slogan—"Onward to Delhi". Friends! Let the slogan of the three million Indians in East Asia be "Total Mobilization for a Total War".

Out of this total mobilization I expect at least three hundred thousand soldiers and three crores of dollars. I want also a unit of brave Indian women to form a death-defying regiment who will wield the sword which the brave Rani of Jhansi wielded in India's First War of Independence in 1857.

Friends! We have for a long time been hearing so much of the Second Front in Europe. But our countrymen at home are now hard-pressed and they are demanding a Second Front. Give me Total Mobilization in East Asia and I promise you a Second Front—a real second front for the Indian struggle.

WOMEN'S ROLE IN THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

SISTERS! I thank you with all my heart for the warm welcome you have given me this evening. I also thank you with all my heart for your enthusiastic participation in the mammoth meeting which was held opposite the Tokku Petsu-shi Buildings. In spite of the rain you stuck to your seats till the end, and this moved me and my friends who participated in the meeting. I also know that some of you took your children there. Your bravery and enthusiasm thrilled all of us. I have the least doubt in my mind that your mission which has started auspiciously will grow rapidly.

You know well the service which Indian women have been rendering in the national movement during the past twenty years. From the time of India's regeneration, Indian women have been vigorously taking part in public life. This change can be clearly noticed. Since 1921 when the Congress was regenerated under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership, our sisters have performed great deeds not only in the Congress movements and the civil disobedience struggle but also in the secret revolutionary movements.

It will not be an exaggeration if I say that there are no public activities or departments of our national effort in which women are not participating. During the past many years of our national movement, women have been equal to men in undergoing suffering with joy and courage. The Indian women never lagged behind anybody in going from village to village, without food and water, addressing meeting after meeting, in carrying the message of freedom from house to house, in conducting election campaigns, in taking out processions in spite of Government's bans and in the face of lathi charge by the merciless British police, and in putting up with the privations of prison-life, torture and humiliations. Last but not least, our heroic sisters also took an active part in the secret revolutionary activities. Many a time they have demonstrated that they too, if necessary, could use fire-arms as well as their brothers.

When I express my confidence that you are today prepared to fight and suffer for the sake of your motherland, I do not mean only to cajole you with empty words. I know the capabilities of our womanhood well. I can, therefore, say with certainty that there is no task which our women cannot undertake and no sacrifice and suffering which our women cannot undergo.

Address to the women's section of the Indian Independence League, Singapore on July 12, 1943, retranslated from the Tamil version published in *Yuwa Bharatam*, Singapore.

The time for launching the final campaign to liberate our motherland has now come. Only very rarely such opportunities occur in a nation's life. Surely such an opportunity will not come again in our life-time, nor even in the next hundred years. Only by God's grace have we got such an opportunity. If we seize it and sacrifice our all, we can surely liberate our country.

I know some among us have been thinking that British Imperialism was immortal and had no end. But I know that history wills it otherwise. History has taught us that every empire will fall in the same way as it has arisen. Similarly, the time has now come for the exit of British Imperialism from the world. We have seen with our own eyes the destruction of the British Empire in this part of the world. We are also going to witness its disappearance from India and other parts of the world.

Some years back I read a book on the British Empire by an Englishman named Meredith Conrad. Referring to India he says that once the Indians become united, the British will not be able to rule over them. He has further said that the empire which came into being in a day will die in a night.

I have mentioned in my broadcast that it took just seven days to drive them out of the stronghold of Singapore which they had built in the course of twenty years. Of course, I do not expect that the British can be driven out of India within a week. But you can mathematically calculate how many weeks it will take to drive out the British once we launch our final military action.

Sisters! I think every one of you believes that the time to begin our efforts for our salvation has come now. I also sincerely believe that you all wish this war to end in the defeat of Anglo-American Imperialism, because India can gain her freedom only if it is vanquished. It is for this reason that I have often been saying that the liberation of India is dependent on the victory of the Axis Powers. Today India and the Axis Powers are facing a common enemy. We therefore have a common goal. We have to fight against our common foe; we should be prepared to make any sacrifice and win our freedom by sharing the joys and sorrows equally among ourselves.

If we get freedom without sacrifice and suffering it will be of no avail, because we will not be able to preserve the freedom which is gained so easily. We shall therefore get our freedom only through our suffering. I firmly believe that we can give adequate support to our motherland by our total mobilization.

Therefore, sisters, you too must take your share in the coming struggle. You can serve in various capacities. Women have special skill in some specific fields. For example, you can serve in the hospitals. When our military campaigns have started, who will take care of our

wounded soldiers? Will it not be shameful if our sisters do not come forward to comfort our wounded soldiers? Sisters, this is only a part of your duty. You can also help us in the recruitment of soldiers and collection of funds and supplies Sometimes you may even have to take up arms.

To those who say that it will not be proper for our women to carry guns, my only request is that they look into the pages of our history. What brave deeds the Rani of Jhansi performed during the First War of Independence in 1857! Similarly, many brave women like the Rani of Jhansi are required in our Last War of Independence also. It is not important how many guns you can carry or how many cartridges you can fire. It is the spiritual force which will be generated by your heroic example that is important. Indians—both common people and members of the British Indian army—who are on the border areas of India, will, on seeing you march with guns on your shoulders, voluntarily come forward to receive the guns from you and carry on the struggle started by you. I do not have the least doubt about this. Therefore, I can say with certainty that the time has come for every Indian—man and woman, boy and girl—to come forward and make great sacrifices for liberating India.

Sisters, your energetic activities will not only inspire our countrymen living in Malaya, East Asia and Syonan but also those living within our country. I have no doubt that the 388 million Indians, on hearing about your efforts and your preparations for the fight, will be greatly inspired. I wish all your efforts are crowned with success. Your task is the same as ours. In this common task, in this struggle, in this suffering and sacrifice, all of us—without any distinction of man or woman, boy or girl, poor or rich, young or old—should stand shoulder to shoulder, should start the final struggle and should hasten the day of India's deliverance.

I once again thank you for the welcome you have given me today and for your enthusiastic participation in the public meeting the other day. I also thank you for the purse you have presented me today. I wish that all your activities for the liberation of our motherland end in victory.

As I told you earlier, the time for preparing ourselves for the final struggle has come. I have already announced to the world the formation of the Azad Hind Army. It is preparing itself for the war of liberation. I hope that the time will come for me to announce to the world that the Jhansi Rani Regiment also is preparing for the struggle. This work should be started immediately. I therefore request all those who want to join the Jhansi Rani Regiment to come forward and give your names

THE CALL

FRIENDS! COUNTRYMEN! Today I have the unique privilege of sending you my heartiest greetings from the soil of independent Burma. Let the example of liberated Burma inspire us all to commence our last attack on British Imperialism. The Indian National Army—the Azad Hind Fauj—is ready to commence the last onslaught. Even our sisters in East Asia are now drilling with rifles and bayonets. We shall soon be coming to you. We shall soon be setting up the "second front" which will help you to pull down the British Raj, once for all. The day of their liberation is not far off Meanwhile, complete all your preparations and wait for the "zero hour", when we shall appear on the Indian frontier. Then, rise as one man and kick out the accursed British from our holy land And get our countrymen (in) the British Army of occupation to join you and we in the sacred struggle for India's freedom, when the signal is given Behold the dawn of India's liberty!

Inquilab Zindabad! Azad Hind Zindabad!

Letter to Countrymen written from Rangoon, August 1, 1943

INDEPENDENT BURMA

INDIANS ALL over East Asia are meeting today in unprecedented numbers for a two-fold purpose. They are first of all celebrating the independence of Burma. They are also reiterating their demand that the British quit India at once. They are reaffirming their unshakable determination to continue the struggle till the complete independence of India is achieved.

You may be aware that I had the good fortune to be in Burma when the declaration of independence was made on August 1st and the new independent State of Burma was brought into existence along with the first Cabinet of free Burma. The whole ceremony was a most solemn and impressive one and I am thankful to Providence that I could witness with my own eyes the birth of a new and independent State just across the Indian frontier. By the nemesis of history, Burma's independent State was established in the same place which was the seat of British power and authority in Burma.

As I was witnessing that historic ceremony, I could see vividly with my mind's eye the ceremony of hoisting our national flag over the Viceroy's House in New Delhi and the victory parade which the Azad Hind Fauj will hold inside the ancient Red Fort of Delhi when the British are finally expelled from India.

Friends! You know perhaps that Burma was not new to me and that I had spent two and a half years in prisons in Burma when the British were in occupation of that country. But it was a new Burma and a free Burma that I visited this time. In that free Burma the Nippon Military Administration has been completely abolished. Dr. Ba Maw is Head of the new State as well as Premier and Commander-in-Chief, and he has formed a Cabinet which will be advised by a Privy Council. Independent Burma has declared war on Britain and America who are still dreaming of reconquering and re-enslaving Burma.

Burma has entered into a treaty of alliance with Nippon. A Nippon ambassador is already in Burma. Ambassadors of other countries will soon be in Rangoon. Burmese ambassadors have been accredited to other countries. Nippon has decided to transfer all Anglo-American enemy properties in Burma to the new Burma State. These properties include factories, harbours, railways, telegraphs and telephones. Burma will be governed according to the wishes of the Burmese people. And they have an army manned and officered exclusively by themselves. Last but not least, today the peacock emblem, the National Flag of Burma—and not the Union Jack—is flying over the office and resi-

Speech at Farrer Park, Singapore, August 15, 1943

dence of the Head of the State, Adipadi Dr. Ba Maw

Today my heart is full of my recent experiences in Burma, and it will take me hours and hours if I were to narrate all I have seen and heard there. I shall therefore end this topic after relating only a few things. First of all about the Rangoon jail. As I lived in the Rangoon jail for several months in 1927 I wanted very much to revisit that place. But I was not allowed to do so as the jail is no longer used for Indian prisoners. It is now used exclusively for British war-prisoners. Think, friends, of the day when we shall avenge ourselves for the incarceration of hundreds of thousands of Indian patriots by converting all the prisons in India into camps for British war-prisoners. Prepare from now on for that glorious day!

I had the privilege of having long discussions with Dr. Ba Maw and his ministers, and I am glad to tell you that complete agreement was reached on problems of common interest. Burma and India will now march shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy, and when the common enemy is vanquished and peace established, we shall live in complete amity and accord like good neighbours.

Friends! On behalf of the Indian Independence Movement, I desire to offer my warmest congratulations to Adipadi Dr. Ba Maw, to the ministers of the new Cabinet, and to the people of free Burma on the independence that they have won, and I desire also to convey our sincerest good wishes for the everlasting freedom and prosperity of Burma in future.

We are fortunate to have in our midst today members of the Burmese deputation who recently visited Tokyo. They are led by His Excellency U Ba Lwin. I beg to offer on your behalf and mine the warmest welcome to His Excellency U Ba Lwin and his colleagues and I request them to convey personally our message to the people of Burma when they arrive in Rangoon.

Friends! The independence of Burma has thrown fresh responsibilities on our shoulders. After the expulsion of the British from Burma the road to India has been opened and we have to march along that road. Until the British are driven out of India the freedom of Burma cannot be safe. The freedom of India, therefore, is necessary not only for the Indian people but for Burma as well.

A year has rolled by since Mahatma Gandhi was put in prison for the crime of demanding the withdrawal of the British from India. Since then the civil disobedience movement as well as sabotage activities have gone on with unabated vigour. But we have not won freedom. And we shall not win freedom till we put up a second front on the Indo-Burma frontier and call upon the Indian people and the British Indian army to take up arms against the British and their allies in India.

Providence has ordained that it is the task of Indians in East

Asia to put up a second front which the Indian people have been demanding. For this we need a total mobilization of our man-power and resources in East Asia. I want 300,000 men and women for the Azad Hind Fauj including the Rani of Jhansi regiment. I am thankful to the youth of Syonan and Malai for offering themselves for enlistment in such large numbers. But the money that has been forthcoming from Syonan has not been enough. I want from Syonan at least fifty million dollars for our national struggle, and I know this is not too much for you.

I am hoping that day is not far off when we shall be able to set up a provisional Government of free India. When this is done we shall march into India under the leadership of our own government. I want to inform my comrades in the army and among the civil population that the Indian National Army is now on the move. It is a long way from Syonan to Delhi; therefore we have to begin our march as early as possible. All those who are fit and ready for action must now begin to pack up.

During the next two months a large portion of the army will be on the road to India, and when the army moves the Independence League headquarters will also move nearer to India. I am longing for the day when our headquarters will be shifted to the Indo-Burma border.

It is today a very great pleasure for me to see so many of my Muslim countrymen in this gathering of ours. I thank them heartily for the welcome they have given me and for the handsome purse they have offered for the Indian Independence Movement. Let the whole world know—and let our enemies know—that all Indians in East Asia are united regardless of religion or caste and they are determined to fight for the freedom of their common motherland.

ON ASSUMING DIRECT COMMAND OF I. N. A.

IN THE interest of the Indian Independence Movement and of the Azad Hind Fauj, I have taken over the direct command of our Army from this day.

This is for me a matter of joy and pride, because for an Indian there can be no greater honour than to be Commander of India's Army of Liberation. But I am conscious of the magnitude of the task that I have undertaken and I am weighed down with a sense of responsibility. I pray that God may give me the necessary strength to fulfil my duty to Indians, under all circumstances, however difficult or trying they may be.

I regard myself as the servant of the 38 crores of my countrymen. who profess different religious faiths. I am determined to discharge my duties in such a manner that the interests of these 38 crores may be safe in my hands and every single Indian will have reason to put complete faith in me. It is only on the basis of undiluted nationalism and perfect justice and impartiality that India's Army of Liberation can be built up.

In the coming struggle for the emancipation of our motherland, for the establishment of a Government of Free India based on the goodwill of 38 crores of Indians and for the creation of a permanent army which will guarantee Indian independence for all times, the Azad Hind Fauj has a vital role to play. To fulfil this role we must weld ourselves into an army that will have only one goal, namely the freedom of Indians, and only one will, namely to do or die in the cause of India's freedom. When we stand, the Azad Hind Fauj has to be like a wall of granite, when we march, the Azad Hind Fauj has to be like a steamroller.

Our task is not an easy one; the war will be long and hard, but I have complete faith in the justice and invincibility of our cause. Thirty-eight crores of human beings, who form about one-fifth of the human race, have a right to be free and they are now ready to pay the price of freedom. There is consequently no power on earth that can deprive us of our birthright of liberty any longer.

Comrades, officers and men! With your unstinted support and unflinching loyalty, the Azad Hind Fauj will become the instrument of India's liberation. Ultimately victory will certainly be ours, I assure you.

With the slogan 'Onward to Delhi' on our lips, let us continue to fight till our National Flag flies over the Viceroy's House in New Delhi, and the Azad Hind Fauj holds its victory parade inside the ancient Red Fort of the Indian metropolis.

Order of the Day, August 26, 1943

AT BAHADUR SHAH'S TOMB

YOUR EXCELLENCY Dr. Ba Maw and friends! Today we have assembled here near the tomb of Bahadur Shah, the last Emperor of free India. It is a strange coincidence of history that while the remains of India's last Emperor rest on the soil of Burma, the remains of the last King of free Burma now rest on the soil of India. We in India and in Burma have all along felt bound together historically by the most profound ties. And this coincidence of history is one of the most convincing proofs of the ties between Your Excellency's nation and ours.

We are, both of our nations, engaged in a common fight against our common foe and we therefore consider it to be in the fitness of things to have a small celebration before the mortal remains of our last Emperor so that on the one side we might rouse the fire that burns within us and, at the same time, strengthen further the ties that have bound Burma and India so long and that will bind us together for all times. We are profoundly grateful to Your Excellency and to the honourable members of the Government for the honour that has been done to us by your gracious presence at this function, a function which is pregnant with important and historical events in the days to come.

Once again I should like to express our unshakable determination to fight along with our Burmese friends, shoulder to shoulder, assured of the magnanimous help and support of Nippon so that we may bring about the final overthrow of British Imperialism which will on the one side bring India her lost liberty and at the same time remove once for all the menace to Burma's safety and independence.

This time we express our unshakable determination before a sacred memorial, before the mortal remains of the last fighter for India's freedom, the man who was an Emperor among men and at the same time a man among Emperors. We cherish the memory of Bahadur Shah. We Indians, regardless of religious faiths, cherish his memory not because he was the man who gave the clarion-call to his countrymen to fight the enemy from without but because he was the man under whose flag fought Indians from all provinces, Indians professing different religious faiths, the man under whose sacred flag Muslims and Hindus and Sikhs or at least the freedom loving Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, fought side by side in the war that has been dubbed by the English historians as the Sepoy Mutiny but which we Indians call the First War of Independence. And now when we are engaged in the last war for India's independence, it is all the more necessary for us to renew our unshak-

Speech at the Mausoleum of Bahadur Shah in Rangoon, September 26, 1943

able determination to fight this last war to a finish, regardless of all sufferings and sacrifices, regardless of all difficulties on our path, regardless of the length of this war, so that at long last the common enemy of Burma and India will be finally overthrown and we will be free not only within our homes but free as comrades marching shoulder to shoulder to fulfil the common destiny of mankind.

Your Excellency, with us it is the practice to offer donations and contributions at shrines like this. As a token of our inner feelings and faith I can think of no better donation or *nazar* than to offer in the name of the last hero of India's First War of Independence, Emperor Bahadur Shah, a small contribution of Rs. 250,000 to be handed over to Your Excellency as a very small token of our love and admiration for Burma and all that Burma stands for, a small donation which Your Excellency may utilize in a manner considered best by yourself.

And now I shall close these few remarks by quoting the English meaning of a couplet which was composed by Bahadur Shah: *As long as the last particle of faith exists in the souls of India's freedom fighters, the sword of India shall continue to penetrate the heart of London.*

ON GANDHIJI'S BIRTHDAY

THIS DAY, Indians all over the world are celebrating the 75th birth anniversary of their greatest leader, Mahatma Gandhi. It is customary on such an occasion to relate the life-experiences of the man whom we honour and to whom we pay our homage of love and respect. But the Indian people are so well-acquainted with the life and work of Mahatma Gandhi that it would be an insult to their intelligence if I were to begin narrating the facts of his life. I shall, instead, devote myself to an estimation of the place of Mahatmaji in the history of India's struggle for independence. The service which Mahatma Gandhi has rendered to India and to the cause of India's freedom is so unique and unparalleled that his name will be written in letters of gold in our national history for all time.

In order to estimate correctly Mahatma Gandhi's place in Indian history it is necessary to take a bird's eye-view of the British conquest of India. You all know that when the British first set foot on Indian soil, India was a land flowing with milk and honey and it was the wealth of India which had attracted poverty-stricken Englishmen from across the seas. Today we find that as a result of political enslavement and economic exploitation the Indian people are dying of hunger and starvation, while the British people who were once so poor and needy have grown fat and rich on the wealth and resources of India. Through sorrow and suffering, humiliation and torture, the Indian people have learnt at long last that the only solution of their manifold problems is the recovery of their lost liberty.

Turning to the methods of the British conquest of India, we see that the British never attempted to fight the entire Indian population in any part of the country, nor did they try to conquer and occupy the whole of India at once. On the contrary they always tried to win over a section of the people, through bribery and corruption, before they commenced military operations. This was the case in Bengal, where the Commander-in-Chief, Mir Jaffar, was won over by the British by offering him the throne of Bengal. At that time the religious or communal problem was unknown in India. The last independent king of Bengal, Siraj-ud-daula, who was a Muslim, was betrayed by his Commander-in-Chief, who was also a Muslim, and it was the Hindu Commander, Mohanlal, who fought for Siraj-ud-Daula till the very last. The lesson that we have learnt from this episode in Indian history is that unless timely steps are taken to prevent and to punish treachery, no nation can hope to preserve its independence.

The developments in Bengal did not unfortunately open the eyes of the Indian people in time. If, even after the fall of Siraj-ud-Dowla in Bengal, the Indian people had made common cause against the British, they would have easily succeeded in throwing the unwanted foreigner out of Indian soil. No one can say that the Indian people did not fight in order to retain their freedom, but they did not fight all together. When the British attacked Bengal, nobody attacked them from behind. When, later on, the British fought Tippu Sultan in South India, neither the Marathas in Central India nor the Sikhs in the North came to the rescue of Tippu Sultan. Even after the fall of Bengal, it was still possible to overthrow the British, through the combination of Tippu Sultan with the North. Unfortunately for us, this was not done. It was, therefore, possible for the British to attack one part of India at a time and gradually extend their rule over the whole country. The lesson that we have learnt from this painful chapter of Indian history is that unless the Indian people stand united before the enemy, they will never be able to achieve their independence, nor will they be able to preserve it even if they acquire it.

It took a long time for the eyes of the Indian people to be opened. Ultimately, in 1857, they woke up and made a concerted attack on the British in different parts of the country. When the fight began, the fight that the British historians call the Sepoy Mutiny and we call the First War of Independence, the British were easily defeated at first. But two factors accounted for our ultimate failure. All parts of India did not join in the fight; and, what is more significant, the technical skill of our army commanders was inferior to that of the commanders of the enemy forces. It is a fact that Europe had made considerable progress in the art of modern warfare in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the Indian people had not kept abreast of the times. Consequently, when the final clash with the British forces took place our army leaders were found wanting. The lesson that we have learnt from our failure in 1857 is that, in future, the Indian people must keep up intimate contact with the progress made by other nations in every walk of life, especially in the art of warfare.

After the defeat in 1857, the Indian people were disarmed by the British. It was the greatest folly and mistake on their part to submit to disarmament at that time. If the Indian people had not been disarmed and thereby rendered helpless, it would have been possible for them to strike for their liberty once again, within a short period of time. Owing to disarmament, however, the Indian people lay politically prostrate and despondent for nearly thirty years. Ultimately, in 1885, a political awakening took place through the birth of the Indian National Congress. The Indian National Congress was in the beginning a moderate body. The leaders of the Congress were at first afraid of demanding complete

independence and the severance of the British connection. Within a brief span of twenty years, however, new life was infused into the Congress. By 1905, we find leaders like Aurobindo Ghosh demanding complete independence for India. Along with this demand for independence, more extreme methods were adopted for achieving liberty. In Bengal the boycott of British goods was adopted as a retaliation against the partition of that Province, and this method of boycott was gradually taken up all over India. Not content with economic boycott, Indian youths next took to the cult of the bomb and the revolver. A number of youths were sent abroad to learn revolutionary sabotage in Paris and other European centres, while Indian youths as a whole began to study the revolutionary methods adopted in other parts of the world, notably in Russia and Ireland.

During the last World War, the Indian leaders were duped by false promises made by unscrupulous British politicians and, as a result, Indian blood and money were poured out in the service of Britain and in order to strengthen the chains of India's bondage. It must, however, be said to the eternal honour of the Indian revolutionaries that they did not allow themselves to be deceived by Britain and they did their very best to work up a revolution in the country. But, unfortunately for India, they failed.

When the last World War was over and the Indian leaders began to demand the liberty that had been promised to them, they discovered, for the first time, that they had been betrayed by perfidious Albion. The reply to their demand came in the form of the Rowlatt Act—or the Black Act—in 1919, which deprived them of what little liberty they still possessed. And when they protested against the Black Act, the Jallianwala Bagh massacre followed. For all the sacrifices made by the Indian people during the last World War, the two rewards were the Rowlatt Act and the Jallianwala Bagh massacre.

After these tragic events of 1919 the Indian people were stunned and paralyzed for the time being. All the attempts for achieving liberty had been ruthlessly crushed by the British and their armed forces. Constitutional agitation, boycott of British goods, armed revolution—all had alike failed to bring freedom. There was not a ray of hope left and the Indian people, though their hearts were burning with indignation, were groping in the dark for a new method and a new weapon of struggle. Just at this psychological moment, Mahatma Gandhi appeared on the scene with his novel method of Non-co-operation and Satyagraha or Civil Disobedience. It appeared as if he had been sent by Providence to show the path to liberty. Immediately and spontaneously, the entire nation rallied round his banner. Every Indian's face was now lit up with hope and confidence Ultimate victory was once again assured.

For twenty years and more Mahatma Gandhi has worked for India's salvation, and with him the Indian people too have worked. It is no exaggeration to say that if in 1920 he had not come forward with his weapon of struggle, India would today perhaps have been still prostrate. His services to the cause of India's freedom are unique and unparalleled. No single man could have achieved more in one single lifetime under similar circumstances. The nearest historical parallel to Mahatma Gandhi is perhaps Mustapha Kemal Pasha who saved Turkey after her defeat in the last World War and who was acclaimed by the Turks as the "Gazi".

Since 1920 the Indian people have learnt two things from Mahatma Gandhi which are the indispensable preconditions for the attainment of independence. They have, first of all, learnt national self-respect and self-confidence as a result of which revolutionary fervour is now blazing in their hearts. Secondly, they have now got a countrywide organization which reaches the remotest villages of India. Now that the message of liberty has permeated the hearts of all Indians and they have got a countrywide political organization representing the whole nation, the stage is set for the final struggle for liberty, the last war of independence.

It is not in India alone that a struggle for freedom has been heralded by a spiritual awakening. In the Risorgimento movement in Italy, it was Mazzini who first gave the spiritual inspiration to the Italian people, He was then followed by the fighter and the hero Garibaldi, who began the March to Rome at the head of one thousand armed volunteers. In modern Ireland, too, the Sinn Fein Party, when it was born in 1906, gave the Irish people a programme which was very much similar to Mahatma Gandhi's non-co-operation programme of 1920. Ten years after the birth of the Sinn Fein Party, that is in 1916, the first armed revolution in Ireland took place.

Mahatma Gandhi has firmly planted our feet on the straight road to liberty. He and other leaders are now rotting behind the prison bars. The task Mahatma Gandhi began has, therefore, to be accomplished by his countrymen, at home and abroad.

Indians at home have everything that they need for the final struggle, but they lack one thing—an army of liberation. That army of liberation has to be supplied from without and it can be supplied only from without.

I would like to remind you that when Mahatma Gandhi commended his non-co-operation programme to the Indian nation at the annual session of the Congress at Nagpur in December 1920, he said, "If India had the sword today, she would have drawn the sword." And proceeding further with his argument, Mahatmaji then said that since armed revolution was out of the question, the only other alternative before the country was that of non-co-operation or Satyagraha. Since then times

have changed and it is now possible for the Indian people to draw the sword. We are happy and proud that India's Army of Liberation has already come into existence and is steadily increasing in numbers. We have, on the one hand, to complete the training of this Army and send it to the field of battle as soon as possible. We have, simultaneously, to build up a new army that can go on reinforcing the Army in the field. The final struggle for liberty will be long and hard and we must go on fighting, till the last Britisher in India is either cast in prison or thrown out of the country. I would like to warn you that after our Army of Liberation sets foot on Indian soil, it will take at least twelve months, and perhaps more, to liberate the whole of India from the British yoke. Let us, therefore, gird up our loins and prepare for a long and hard struggle

INDEPENDENT PHILIPPINES

TODAY IS a red-letter day in the annals of the Philippines. Today, 18 million Filipinos will regain the complete independence of their Republic which America robbed forty-two years ago. The rebirth of the Philippine Republic, within two and half months of the rebirth of the independent State of Burma, is an occasion for rejoicing for all the nations of Asia and particularly for those who are still fighting for their independence.

The proclamation of the independence of the Philippine Republic today is of special significance and importance to India, as it is a message of hope and cheer to 380 millions of my countrymen who are fighting the British for their independence. Having been expelled once and for all by the Japanese forces from every corner of East Asia, the Anglo-Americans have now converted India into their last stronghold in Asia. But the day is not far off when India too will expel the Anglo-Americans and regain her independence.

Meanwhile, I extend my heartfelt felicitations to my Filipino brethren on the achievement of their cherished goal of independence after over forty years of American domination and to Aguinalo on his living to see the victory of the cause for which he fought the Americans over forty years ago. I heartily congratulate Dr. Jose Laurel on his election as the first President of the Philippine Republic and Mr. Jorge Vargas on the achievement of the goal for which he has toiled night and day since the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War.

October 14, 1943

THE BENGAL FAMINE

DURING THE last few months, the situation inside India has been developing in a manner favourable to our cause, though it has meant more and more suffering for the people.

The political unrest in India has been greatly accentuated by the famine conditions prevailing in several parts of India—and particularly in Bengal. There can be no doubt that these famine conditions have been largely due to the policy of ruthless exploitation of India's food and other resources for Britain's war purposes over a period of nearly four years. You are aware that on behalf of our League, I made a free and unconditional offer of one hundred thousand tons of rice for our starving countrymen at home as a first instalment. Not only was this offer not accepted by the British authorities in India, but we were given only abuse in return.

You are probably aware that since July last I have toured more than once in the mainland of Malaya, in Thailand, in Burma and in Indo-China. The enthusiasm among our countrymen that I have met with everywhere has not only been encouraging, but has added greatly to my feeling of confidence and optimism.

I would like to inform you also that we have been planning and preparing not only for the coming struggle but also for post-war reconstruction. We can visualize the conditions that we shall find at home when the Anglo-Americans and their allies are expelled from our country. We have, therefore, set up a Reconstruction Department in our headquarters, where the problems of post-war reconstruction are being studied. People are now being trained for the work of rapid reconstruction within India, simultaneously with the progress of Military operations. In short, we are not leaving anything undone in our preparation for the coming fight for freedom and for the task that we shall have to undertake thereafter.

It would naturally have been the best thing if a Government had been constituted inside India, and if that Government had launched the last struggle for liberty. But things being what they are in India, and all the known and recognized leaders being in prison, it is hopeless to expect the formation of a Provisional Government within the frontiers of India. It is equally hopeless to expect the last fight for freedom to be organized or initiated within the country. It is consequently for the Indians in East Asia to undertake this solemn task.

There is not the slightest doubt in our minds that when we cross the Indian frontier with our Army and hoist our National Flag on

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October 21, 1943

Indian soil, the real revolution will break out within the country—the revolution that will ultimately bring about the end of British rule in India.. ......

The creation of a National Army has lent reality and seriousness to the whole Independence Movement in East Asia. If this Army had not been organized, the Independence League in East Asia would have been a mere propaganda organ. With the creation of the National Army, it became possible as well as necessary to set up a Provisional Government of Azad Hind. The Government is born out of the Independence League for the purpose of launching and directing the final struggle for India's freedom.

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT FORMED

AFTER THEIR first defeat at the hands of the British in 1757 in Bengal, the Indian people fought an uninterrupted series of hard and bitter battles over a stretch of one hundred years. The history of this period teems with examples of unparalleled heroism and self-sacrifice. And, in the pages of that history, the names of Siraj-ud-daula and Mohanlal of Bengal, Haider Ali, Tipu Sultan and Velu Tampi of South India, Appa Sahib Bhonsle and Peshwa Baji Rao of Maharashtra, the Begums of Oudh, Sardar Shyam Singh Atariwala of Punjab and last, but not least, Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi, Tantia Tope, Maharaj Kunwar Singh of Dumraon and Nana Sahib — among others — the names of all these warriors are for ever engraved in letters of gold. Unfortunately for us, our forefathers did not at first realise that the British constituted a grave threat to the whole of India and they did not therefore put up a united front against the enemy. Ultimately, when the Indian people were roused to the reality of the situation, they made a concerted move — — and under the flag of Bahadur Shah, in 1857, they fought their last war as free men. In spite of a series of brilliant victories in the early stages of this war, ill-luck and faulty leadership gradually brought about their final collapse and subjugation. Nevertheless, such heroes as the Rani of Jhansi, Tantia Tope, Kunwar Singh and Nana Sahib live like eternal stars in the nation's memory to inspire us to greater deeds of sacrifice and valour.

Forcibly disarmed by the British after 1857 and subjected to terror and brutality, the Indian people lay prostrate for a while — but with the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885, there came a new awakening. From 1885 till the end of the last World War, the Indian people, in their endeavour to recover their lost liberty, tried all possible methods — namely, agitation and propaganda, boycott of British goods, terrorism and sabotage — and finally, armed revolution. But all these efforts failed for a time. Ultimately, in 1920, when the Indian people, haunted by a sense of failure, were groping for a new method, Mahatma Gandhi came forward with the new weapon of non-co-operation and civil disobedience.

For two decades thereafter the Indian people went through a phase of intense patriotic activity. The message of freedom was carried to every Indian home. Through personal example, people were taught to suffer, to sacrifice and to die in the cause of freedom. From the centre to the remotest villages, the people were knit together into one

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Proclamation of the Provisional Government at Azad Hind, October 21, 1943

political organisation. Thus, the Indian people not only recovered their political consciousness, but became a political entity once again. They could now speak with one voice and strive with one will for one common goal. From 1937 to 1939, through the work of the Congress Ministries in eight provinces, they gave proof of their readiness and their capacity to administer their own affairs.

Thus on the eve of the present World War, the stage was set for the final struggle for India's liberation. During the course of this war, Germany, with the help of her allies, has dealt shattering blows to our enemy in Europe — while Nippon with the help of her allies has inflicted a knockout blow to our enemy in East Asia. Favoured by a most happy combination of circumstances, the Indian people today have a wonderful opportunity for achieving their national emancipation.

For the first time in recent history, Indians abroad have also been politically roused and united in one organisation. They are not only thinking and feeling in tune with their countrymen at home, but are also marching in step with them, along the path to Freedom. In East Asia, in particular, over two million Indians are now organised as one solid phalanx, inspired by the slogan of "Total Mobilization." And in front of them stand the serried ranks of India's Army of Liberation, with the slogan "Onward to Delhi" on their lips.

Having goaded Indians to desperation by its hypocrisy and having driven them to starvation and death by plunder and loot, British rule in India has forfeited the goodwill of the Indian people altogether and is now living a precarious existence. It needs but a flame to destroy the last vestige of that unhappy rule. To light that flame is the task of India's Army of Liberation. Assured of the enthusiastic support of the civil population at home and also of a large section of British Indian Army and backed by gallant and invincible allies abroad, but relying in the first instance on its own strength, India's Army of Liberation is confident of fulfilling its historic role.

Now that the dawn of freedom is : . hand, it is the duty of the Indian people to set up a Provisional Government of their own, and launch the last struggle under the banner of that Government. But with all the Indian leaders in prison and the people at home totally disarmed, it is not possible to set up a Provisional Government within India or to launch an armed struggle under the aegis of that Government. It is, therefore, the duty of the Indian Independence League in East Asia, supported by all patriotic Indians at home and abroad, to undertake this task — the task of setting up a Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India) and of conducting the last fight for freedom, with the help of the Army of Liberation (that is, the Azad Hind Fauj or the Indian National Army) organised by the League.

Having been constituted as the Provisional Government of Azad Hind by the Indian Independence League in East Asia, we enter upon our duties with a full sense of the responsibility that has devolved on us. We pray that Providence may bless our work and our struggle for the emancipation of our motherland. And we hereby pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades in arms to the cause of her freedom, of her welfare, and her exaltation among the nations of the world.

It will be the task of the Provisional Government to launch and to conduct the struggle that will bring about the expulsion of the British and of their allies from the soil of India. It will then be the task of the Provisional Government to bring about the establishment of a permanent National Government of Azad Hind constituted in accordance with the will of the Indian people and enjoying their confidence. After the British and their allies are overthrown and until a permanent National Government of Azad Hind is set up on Indian soil, the Provisional Government will administer the affairs of the country in trust for the Indian people.

The Provisional Government is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Indian. It guarantees religious liberty, as well as equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens. It declares its firm resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally and transcending all the differences cunningly fostered by an alien government in the past.

In the name of God, in the name of bygone generations who have welded the Indian people into one nation and in the name of the dead heroes who have bequeathed to us a tradition of heroism and self-sacrifice — we call upon the Indian people to rally round our banner and to strike for India's freedom. We call upon them to launch the final struggle against the British and all their allies in India and to prosecute that struggle with valour and perseverance and with full faith in final victory until the enemy is expelled from Indian soil and the Indian people are once again a Free Nation.

Signed on behalf of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind.

Subhas Chandra Bose (Head of the State, Prime Minister and Minister for War and Foreign Affairs)

Capt. Mrs. Lakshmi (Women's Organisation)

S. A. Ayer (Publicity and Propaganda)

Lt.-Col. A. C. Chatterji (Finance)

Lt.-Col. Aziz Ahmed, Lt.-Col. N. S. Bhagat, Lt.-Col. J. K. Bhonsle, Lt.-Col. Gulzara Singh, Lt.-Col. M. Z. Kiani, Lt.-Col. A. D Loganadhan, Lt-Col. Ehsan Qadir, Lt.-Col. Shah Nawaz (Representative of the Armed Forces), A. M. Sahay, Secretary (with Ministerial Rank)

Rash Behari Bose (Supreme Adviser)
Karim Gani, Debnath Das, D. M. Khan, A. Yellappa, A. J. Thivy, Sardar Ishar Singh (Advisers)
A. N. Sarkar (Legal Adviser)

Singapore, Oct. 21, 1943

JHANSI RANI REGIMENT

SISTERS ! The opening of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment Training Camp is an important landmark in the progress of our movement in East Asia. We are engaged in the great task of regenerating our nation. And it is only in the fitness of things that there should be a stir of new life among our womenfolk.

Our past has been a great and glorious one. India could not have produced a heroine like the Rani of Jhansi if she did not have a glorious tradition. In the same way, as we have figures like Maitreyi in the ancient days, we have the inspiring examples of Ahalyabai of Maharashtra, Rani Bhawani of Bengal, and Razia Begum and Noor Jehan who were shining administrators in recent historic time prior to British rule in India. I have every confidence in the fertility of the Indian soil. I am confident that India, as in the past, will surely produce the best flowers of womanhood.

I may now say a few words about the Rani of Jhansi. When she started the fight her age was only twenty. You can easily imagine what it meant for a girl of twenty to ride a horse and wield her sword in open battle. You can well visualize what courage and spirit she must have had. The English commander who fought against her said: "She was the best and bravest of the rebels." First she fought from the Jhansi Fort, and when the fort was besieged, she escaped with a party to Kalpi from where she put up a fight. When she had to retreat from this battlefront she made an alliance with Tantia Tope, attacked and captured Gwalior Fort, and using that fort as the base she continued the battle, and in the last and great battle she died fighting.

Unfortunately, Jhansi Rani was defeated. It was not her defeat; it was the defeat of India. She died, but her spirit can never die. India can once again produce Jhansi Ranis and march on to victory.

Speech while opening the Rani of Jhansi Training Camp for the Women's Section of I.N.A. October 22, 1943

WAR DECLARED

THE PROVISIONAL Government of India has made a careful survey of the conditions in India and the world and decided in Shonan at midnight that the time is ripe to declare war upon the enemy. I know some Indians will question the validity of the declaration, but you may be convinced of its legality in the light of its having been issued by a government which has been legally established and which represents the country. This decision of the Provisional Government was broadcast to the world : that the Provisional Government of India thinks it her duty to declare war on Britain and her ally, the United States of America.

Friends, let us prepare at once and march on India. We shall unfurl our national flag on Indian soil and advance towards Delhi. We are determined to be in India by the end of the year and to assume control of the land and sea powers of the country. The Indian National Army must be prepared for the coming fight.

From an Address to Indian Independence League, Singapore, October 24, 1943

A WORD TO THE RICH

LOOK AT those who have volunteered to join the Indian National Army and who are now getting the necessary training. They do not know how many of them will live to see India free. They are getting ready with the one thought of shedding their last drop of blood. They are getting ready to go to a free India or to die on the way. There is no programme of retreat for them.

When the I.N.A. is getting trained either to march to victory or to spill its last drop of blood on the way, the rich people are asking me whether total mobilization means 10 per cent or 5 per cent of their riches. I would ask these people who are speaking of percentages whether we can tell our soldiers to fight and spill only 10 per cent of their blood and save the rest........

The poor classes have been coming forward voluntarily and with enthusiastic spirit to offer everything that they have. Poorer class Indians like watchmen, washermen, barbers, petty-shopkeepers and *gowalas* have come forward with all they have. And in addition to that some of them have also offered to become volunteers.

Some of the poor people came to me, and not only did they give all the cash they had in their pockets, but went further and gave me their Saving Bank books which represent their lives' savings. Are there not rich men among the Indians in Malaya who can come forward and say in the same spirit: "Here is my bank book for the cause of Indian independence."

Indians as a nation believe in the ideal of sacrifice. Among the Hindus we have the ideal of Sanyasis and the Muslims have the way of the Faqirs. Can there be a greater cause, a nobler cause and a holier cause than the liberation of 38 crores of human souls?

My request to Malaya is for 10 crores of rupees, which would be approximately 10 per cent of the value of Indian possessions in Malaya.

October, 26, 1943

RETURN OF THE ANDAMANS

FOR INDIANS the return of the Andamans represents the first territory to be liberated from British yoke By the acquisition of this territory, the Provisional Government has now become a national entity in fact as well as in name The liberation of the Andamans has symbolic significance because the Andamans was always used by the British as a prison for political prisoners. Most of the political prisoners sentenced to penal servitude for conspiracies to overthrow the British Government—and there have been hundreds of them—were locked up in this island. Like the Bastille in Paris, which was liberated first in the French Revolution, setting free political prisoners, the Andamans where our patriots suffered is the first to be liberated in India's fight for independence. Part by part, Indian territory will be liberated, but it is always the first plot of land that holds the most significance. ... ... We have renamed the Andamans as "Shaheed", in memory of the martyrs, and the Nicobars as 'Swaraj'.

Statement on Japanese Government's decision to transfer the Andaman and Nicobar Islands to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, November 8, 1943

ASIAN CO-OPERATION

AFTER MY arrival in Tokyo, I and my colleagues of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind or Free India were invited to attend as observers the Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations held on November 5 and 6. In this assembly, the representatives of the independent governments of Burma, Thailand, Philippines, China, Manchukuo and Japan participated You must have heard by now of the joint declaration passed unanimously and enthusiastically by the representatives of the participating nations.

The Declaration says

(i) The countries of Greater East Asia, through mutual co-operation, will ensure the stability of their region and construct an order of common prosperity and well-being based on justice.

(ii) The countries of Greater East Asia will ensure equality of nations in their region by respecting one another's sovereignty and independence and practising mutual assistance and amity.

(iii) The countries of Greater East Asia will respect one another's traditions and develop the creative faculties of each State to enhance its culture and that of Greater East Asia.

(iv) The countries of Greater East Asia will endeavour to accelerate their economic development through close co-operation and promote thereby the general prosperity of their region.

(v) The countries of Greater East Asia will cultivate friendly relations with all the countries of the world, and work for the abolition of racial discrimination, the promotion of cultural intercourse and the progress of mankind.

It is the first time in modern history that emancipated nations of East Asia have come together in close co-operation for setting up a new order. Attempts at setting up a new international order have, as you know, been made in the past also, but all these attempts failed. They failed because of the selfishness, greed and avarice of the leading powers, powers that were expected to set an example to the whole world. The last such experiment was the League of Nations.

International order in East Asia or the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere has, on the contrary, been set up on the basis of the principles of justice, popular sovereignty, reciprocity and mutual assistance. I cannot conceive of a more just and moral basis for investing an international order.

I am, therefore, confident that where the rest of the world has failed, the East will succeed. It has often happened in history that

Extracts from a broadcast from Tokyo, November 18, 1943

light comes from the East. In the domain of international relations too, light, once again, comes from the East. That is why history has ordained that the endeavour to establish a new order in the world should now begin in the East, and that the foundation stone be laid in the land of the Rising Sun.

The Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations was a new and noble experiment in this direction. Upon its success depends not only the future of East Asia, but of Asia, and ultimately of the whole world as well.

CALL FOR REVOLT

MEN OF the Indian Army! You are all my brothers. You must realize that Burma is free and that the flag of Free Burma flies over the former residence of the British Governor. The British have mobilized you today with the wicked intent of re-enslaving Burma. That is impossible. You, as members of a fighting force, must now be aware of the real nature of the situation in Burma. Your comrades of the 5th and 7th Division are completely encircled. The other British divisions did not come to their help, but fled like cowards. Their only hope of salvation lies in surrender. If they continue to fight for the British, they will have to be wiped out.

The Indian National Army has launched the final struggle for freedom. It will not rest until it has completely driven the British out of India. It will succeed in its mission, for it not only has the support of the three million Indians in East Asia, but of nine major World Powers also. The British look to the Africans, Australians, Canadians and Chinese to help them. There is every justification for our looking to Japan for assistance in our fight against British imperialism. The Indian National Army has begun its march to Delhi.

Friends, the Indian National Army and the Japanese will welcome you with open arms. I appeal to you to desert the British Indian Army and to join us with your arms and equipment.

Azad Hind Zindabad!

Broadcast from Free India Radio, Saigon, February 17, 1944

HOMAGE TO MOTHER OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE

SHRIMATI KASTURBA GANDHI is dead. She has died in Brtish custody in Poona at the age of 74. With 388.000.000 of my countrymen at home and with my compatriots abroad I share the deepest bereavement over the death of Kasturba. She died under tragic circumstances, but for a member of an enslaved nation no death could have been more honourable or more glorious. India has suffered a personal loss. Kasturba Gandhi is the second fellow prisoner of Mahatma Gandhi to die under his very eyes in custody since he was imprisoned in Poona a year and a half ago. The first was his life-long fellow worker and private secretary, Mahadev Desai. This is the second personal bereavement that Mahatma Gandhi has suffered during his present imprisonment.

I pay my humble tribute to the memory of that great lady who was a mother to the Indian people, and I wish to express my deepest sympathy for Gandhiji in his bereavement. I had the privilege of coming into frequent personal contact with Shrimati Kasturba and I would sum up my tribute to her in a few words. She was the ideal of Indian womanhood—strong, patient, silent, self-sufficient. Kasturba was a source of inspiration to the millions of India's daughters among whom she moved and whom she met in the struggle for the freedom of her motherland. From the days of the South African Satyagraha she has shared with her great husband the trials and sufferings which have been their lot for nearly 30 years now. Her many imprisonments seriously impaired her health, but jails had no terrors for her even in her 74th year. Any time Mahatma Gandhi launched a civil disobedience movement, Kasturba was at his side in the forefront of the struggle, an outstanding example to India's daughters and a challenge to the sons of India not to lag behind their sisters in the fight for India's independence.

Kasturba has died a martyr's death. She had been suffering from heart disease for over four months. But the callous British Government turned a deaf ear to the humanitarian pleadings of the Indian nation to release Kasturba on medical grounds. The British probably hoped that by subjecting Mahatma Gandhi to such mental anguish they could crush his soul and beat him into surrender. I can only express my contempt for those brutes who profess to fight for freedom, justice and morality and yet perpetuate such cold-blooded murder. They have not understood the Indian people. No amount of mental

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Statement issued on February 22, 1944

torture and hpysical suffering that the British can and may inflict on Mahatma Gandhi or the Indian nation will make him budge an inch from the stand he has taken. Mahatma Gandhi called upon the British to quit India and save India from the horrors of modern war. The insolent reply of the British was to throw him into prison like an ordinary criminal. He and his noble consort would rather die in prison than come out free in an enslaved India. The British were determined to see that Kasturba died of heart disease in custody under the very eyes of her husband. They have had their criminal desire fulfilled, and it is nothing short of murder. But to us Indians at home and abroad, Shrimati Kasturba's sad death in prison is a grim reminder that the British are bent on disposing of our leaders one after another in the most heartless manner. As long as the British remain in India these atrocities against our nation will continue unchecked. There is only one way in which the sons and daughters of India can avenge the death of Shrimati Kasturba Gandhi, and that is by the complete destruction of the British Empire in India. A special responsibility lies on the shoulders of Indians in East Asia, who have launched an armed struggle against the British rulers in India. This responsibility is shared in particular by all our sisters here. In this hour of sorrow we will renew our solemn pledge to continue the armed fight until the last Britisher is driven out of India.

16—2 PD (I &B)/72

I. N. A. RADIO IN RANGOON

FRIENDS, I hope you remember I inaugurated the broadcasting station of the Indian National Army Headquarters on December 5, 1943. Since then, officers and men of the Indian National Army have been regularly broadcasting to their countrymen in India.

You also know that both the headquarters of the Indian National Army and the Provisional Government of Free India were moved from Shonan to Burma. A section of the broadcasting station of the Indian National Army Headquarters also moved along with them. This section which has now been established as a branch station in Burma will keep in touch with its parent station at Shonan. I consider myself fortunate in being called upon to inaugurate the new broadcasting station of the Indian National Army.

The speeches of Indian officers and men from the Indian National Army broadcasting station have impressed our countrymen in India, especially the members of the British Indian Army. The British military authorities are very much alarmed at the impression these broadcasts have made on the Indian personnel at the front. The advance of the Indan National Army to the very gates of India has increased their alarm considerably.

Extracts from speech inaugurating INA Radio in Rangoon, February 28, 1944

I.N.A. ON INDIAN SOIL

FRIENDS! Twelve months ago a new programme of Total Mobilization and Maximum Sacrifice was placed before Indians in East Asia. Today I shall give you an account of our achievements during the past year and shall place before you our demands for the coming year. But, before I do so, I want you to realize once again what a golden opportunity we have for winning freedom. The British are now engaged in a world-wide struggle, and in the course of this struggle they have suffered defeat in so many fronts. The enemy having been thus considerably weakened, our fight for liberty has become very much easier than it was five years ago. Such a rare and God-given opportunity comes once in a century. That is why we have sworn to utilize this opportunity fully for liberating our motherland from the British yoke.

According to the programme of Total Mobilization, I demanded of you men, money and materials. Regarding men I am glad to tell you that I have obtained sufficient recruits already. Recruits have come to us from every corner of East Asia—from China, Japan, Indo-China, Philippines, Java, Borneo, Celebes, Sumatra, Malaya, Thailand and Burma. The only complaint that I have is that considering the population of Indians in Burma, the number of recruits from Burma should have been larger. You will, therefore, have to exert yourself still more in future in order to furnish more recruits from this part.

With regard to money, you remember that I demanded 30 millions from Indians in East Asia. I have actually got much more in the meantime and, from the arrangements that have been made, I am confident that a steady flow of money will be maintained in future.

I must thank you warmly for the hearty co-operation that you have extended to me. At the same time, I must draw your attention to the work that still lies ahead of us.

You must continue the mobilization of men, money and materials with greater vigour and energy. In particular, the problem of supplies and transport has to be solved satisfactorily.

Secondly, we require more men and women of all categories for administration and reconstruction in liberated areas. We must be prepared for a situation in which the enemy will ruthlessly apply the scorched-earth policy before withdrawing from a particular area and will also force the civilian population to evacuate, as was attempted in Burma.

Last, but most important of all, is the problem of sending rein-

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July 4, 1944

forcements in men and supplies to the fighting fronts. If we do not do so, we cannot hope to maintain our success at the fronts. Nor can we hope to penetrate into India.

Those of you who will continue to work on the Home Front should never forget that East Asia—and particularly Burma—forms our base for the war of liberation. If this base is not strong, our fighting forces can never be victorious. There is another reason why I want you to look after the Home Front properly. During the coming months I and my colleagues on the War Committee of the Cabinet desire to devote our whole attention to the fighting front—and also to the task of working up the revolution inside India. Consequently, we want to be fully assured that the work at the base will go on smoothly and uninterruptedly even in our absence.

Friends, one year ago, when I made certain demands of you, I told you that if you gave me Total Mobilization I would give you a Second Front. I have redeemed that pledge. The first phase of our campaign is over. Our victorious troops, fighting side by side with Nipponese troops, have pushed back the enemy and are now fighting bravely on the sacred soil of our dear motherland.

Gird up your loins for the task that now lies ahead. I had asked you for men, money and materials. I have got them in a generous measure. Now I demand more of you. Men, money and materials cannot by themselves bring victory or freedom. We must have the motive power that will inspire us to brave deeds and heroic exploits.

It will be a fatal mistake for you to wish to live and see India free, simply because victory is now within reach. No one here should have the desire to live to enjoy freedom. A bitter fight is still in front of us.

We should have but one desire today, the desire to die so that India may live, the desire to face a martyr's death so that the path to freedom may be paved with the martyr's blood.

MESSAGE TO GANDHIJI

AFTER THE sad demise of Shrimati Kasturba in British custody, it was but natural for your countrymen to be alarmed over the state of your health. For Indians outside India, differences in method are like domestic differences. Ever since you sponsored the Independence Resolution at the Lahore Congress in December 1929, all members of the Indian National Congress have had one common goal before them. For Indians outside India, you are the creator of the present awakening in our country. The high esteem in which you are held by patriotic Indians outside India, and by foreign friends of India's freedom, was increased a hundred-fold when you bravely sponsored the "Quit India" Resolution in August 1942.........

It would be a fatal mistake on your part to make a distinction between the British Government and the British people. No doubt there is a small group of idealists in Britain—as in the U.S.A.—who would like to see India free. These idealists, who are treated by their own people as cranks, form a microscopic minority. So far as India is concerned, for all practical purposes, the British Government and the British people mean one and the same thing. Regarding the war aims of the U.S.A., I may say that the ruling clique at Washington is now dreaming of world domination. This ruling clique and its intellectual exponents talk openly of the 'American Century'. In this ruling clique, there are extremists who go so far as to call Britain the 49th State of the U.S.A.

I can assure you, Mahatmaji, that before I finally decided to set out on this hazardous mission, I spent days, weeks and months in carefully considering the pros and cons of the case. After having served my people so long to the best of my ability, I could have no desire to be a traitor, or to give anyone a justification for calling me a traitor. Thanks to the generosity and to the affection of my countrymen, I had obtained the highest honour which it was possible for any public worker in India to achieve. I had also built up a party consisting of staunch and loyal colleagues who had implicit confidence in me. By going abroad on a perilous quest, I was risking not only my life and my whole future career, but what was more, the future of my party. If I had the slightest hope that without action from abroad we could win freedom, I would never have left India during a crisis. If I had any hope that within our lifetime we could get another chance—another golden opportunity—for winning freedom, as during the present war, I doubt if I would have set out from home.

Broadcast from Azad Hind Radio, July 6, 1944

There remains but one question for me to answer with regard to the Axis Powers. Can it be possible that I have been deceived by them? I believe it will be universally admitted that the cleverest and the most cunning politicians are to be found amongst Britishers. One who has worked with and fought British politicians all his life cannot be deceived by any other politicians in the world. If British politicians have failed to coax or coerce me, no other politicians can succeed in doing so. And if the British Government, at whose hands I have suffered long imprisonment, persecution and physical assault, has been unable to demoralize me, no other power can hope to do so. I have never done anything which could compromise in the least either the honour or the self-respect or the interest of my country.

There was a time when Japan was an ally of our enemy. I did not come to Japan so long as there was an Anglo-Japanese alliance I did not come to Japan so long as normal diplomatic relations obtained between the two countries. It was only after Japan took what I considered to be the most momentous step in her history, namely, declaration of war on Britain and America, that I decided to visit Japan of my own free will. Like so many of my countrymen, my sympathies in 1937 and 1938 were with Chungking. You may remember that as President of the Congress I was responsible for sending out medical mission to Chungking in December 1938.

Mahatmaji, you know better than anybody else how deeply suspicious the Indian people are of mere promises. I would be the last man to be influenced by Japan if her declarations of policy had been mere promises.

I should now like to say something about the Provisional Government that we have set up here. The Provisional Government has, as its one objective, the liberation of India from the British yoke, through an armed struggle. Once our enemies are expelled from India, and peace and order is established, the mission of the Provisional Government will be over. The only reward that we desire for our efforts, for our suffering and for our sacrifice is the freedom of our motherland. There are many among us who would like to retire from the political field, once India is free.

Nobody would be more happy than ourselves, if by any chance our countrymen at home should succeed in liberating themselves through their own efforts, or if by any chance the British Government accepts your 'Quit India' Resolution and gives effect to it. We are, however, proceeding on the assumption that neither of the above is possible and that an armed struggle is inevitable. India's last war of independence has begun. Troops of the Azad Hind Fauj are now fighting bravely on the soil of India, and in spite of all difficulty and hardship they are pushing forward slowly but steadily. This armed

struggle will go on until the Britisher is thrown out of India and until our Tricolour National Flag proudly floats over the Viceroy's House in New Delhi.

Father of our Nation! In this holy war of India's liberation, we ask for your blessings and good wishes.

WHY I. N. A. WITHDREW

WE STARTED the operations too late. The monsoon was disadvantageous to us. Our roads were submerged. River traffic had to be against the current. Against this the enemy had first-class roads. Our only chance was to take Imphal before the rains started; and we would have succeeded if we had more air support and if the enemy forces in Imphal had not special orders to make a stand to the last man. If we had started in January, we would have succeeded. In all sectors, till the rains began, we either held the enemy or advanced. In the Arakan Sector, the enemy was held. In the Kaladan Sector, we routed the enemy and advanced. In Tiddim, we advanced. In Palel and Kohima also, we advanced. In the Haka Sector, we held them. And all this in spite of the numerical superiority that the enemy had, plus equipment and rations.

When the rains came, we had to postpone the general assault on Imphal. The enemy was able to send mechanized divisions and thus was able to retake the Kohima-Imphal Road. The question then arose where we should hold the line. There were two courses open : either to hold on to the Bishenpur-Palél Line and not allow the enemy to advance; or to fall back and hold a more advantageous position.

What are the lessons we have learnt from the campaign? We have received our baptism of fire. A body of ex-civilians who were ordered to withdraw when the ammunition was exhausted preferred not to withdraw, and with fixed bayonets they charged the enemy. They came back victorious.

Our troops have gained much confidence. We have learnt that the Indian troops with the enemy are willing to come over. We must now make arrangements to take them over. We have learnt the tactics of the enemy. We have captured enemy documents. The experience gained by our Commanders has been invaluable. Before the campaign started, the Japanese had no confidence in our troops and wanted to break them up into batches attached to the Japanese Army. I wanted a front to be given to our men and this was ultimately given.

We have also learnt our defects. Transport and supply were defective owing to the difficult terrain. We had no Front Line Propaganda. Though we had prepared personnel for this, we could not use them owing to lack of transport. Henceforth each Unit of the I.N.A. will have a propaganda unit attached to it. We wanted loudspeakers but the Japanese failed to supply them to us. We are now making our own.

Extracts from speech delivered on August 13, 1944

THE NEXT OFFENSIVE

COMMANDERS OF the Azad Hind Fauj !

In the middle of March this year, advance units of the Azad Hind Fauj, fighting shoulder to shoulder with their valiant allies, the Imperial Nippon Forces, crossed the Indo-Burma border and the fight for India's liberation thereupon commenced on Indian soil.

The British authorities by ruthlessly exploiting India for over a century, and bringing foreign soldiers to fight their battles for them, had managed to put up a mighty force against us. After crossing the Indo-Burma border our forces, inspired by the righteousness of our cause, encountered these numerically superior and better equipped but heterogeneous and disunited forces of the enemy and defeated them in every battle.

Our units, with their better training and discipline and unshakable determination to do or die on the path of India's freedom, soon established their superiority over the enemy whose morale deteriorated with each defeat.

Fighting under the most trying conditions, our officers and men displayed such courage and heroism that they have earned the praise of everybody. With their blood and sacrifice, these heroes have established traditions which the future soldiers of free India shall have to uphold.

All preparations had been completed and the stage had been set for the final assault on Imphal, when torrential rains overtook us and to carry Imphal by assault was rendered a tactical impossibility.

Handicapped by the elements, we were forced to postpone our offensive. After the postponement of the offensive, it was found disadvantageous for troops to continue to hold the line that we then had. For securing a more favourable defensive position, it was considered advisable to withdraw our troops. In accordance with this decision, our troops have withdrawn to a more favourable defensive position. We shall now utilize the period in full in completing our preparations, so that with the advent of better weather we may be in a position to resume our offensive.

Having beaten the enemy once in several sectors of the front, our faith in our final victory and in the destruction of the Anglo-American forces of aggression has increased tenfold. As soon as all our preparations are complete, we shall launch a mighty offensive against our enemies once again. With the superior fighting qualities, dauntless courage and unshakable devotion to duty of our officers and men.

Broadcast on August 14, 1944

victory shall surely be ours.

May the souls of those heroes who have fallen in the campaign inspire us to nobler deeds of heroism and bravery in the next phase of India's liberation!

WARNING AGAINST PARTITION

FRIENDS AND countrymen, I want to talk to you today about the Indian situation. You are all aware that Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah are discussing the Hindu-Muslim question in Bombay and that Gandhiji is prepared to come to an agreement with the League even if it means conceding the League demand of Pakistan. I know that you are very anxious to know what we Indians abroad think about Gandhiji's attempt to pacify the League.

We Indians in East Asia are today fighting for a free and united India. We are resolved to liberate our motherland and we are confident that we shall ultimately succeed. However long and bitter the struggle, we are convinced that truth and justice will finally triumph and that our struggle for India's liberation will be successful. Therefore, we shall never be a party to any compromise with Britain. The very idea of a compromise with the British is repugnant to us. It will, we very strongly feel, mean the perpetuation of our slavery. Friends, we have resolved to create a united and free India. Therefore, we shall oppose all attempts to divide her and cut her up into bits. Ireland and Palestine have taught us a lesson. We have realized that to divide a country will ruin it economically. culturally and politically. America could not have risen to her present greatness had the American Pakistanists been allowed their own way. We can easily solve the minorities problem once we are free from foreign domination. We should have the Soviet Union as our example. There are more races in the Soviet Union than in India; yet they are all united today. Why? Because they are free and do not have to bow to a foreign ruler

Personally, I have great respect for Mr. Jinnah, President of the Muslim League. I and my party have been in close contact with him and have co-operated with the League in the past and I am opposed neither to the League nor to its illustrious leader. But I vehemently oppose the Pakistan scheme for the vivisecting of our motherland

During the first three years of the present war the Anglo-Americans suffered one reverse after another. But they never thought of capitulation or surrender. They fought on with the hope that sooner or later their luck would turn, and their hope was justified. They have achieved many victories, but that will not make them slacken their war effort. Nor does it mean that our allies will slacken their efforts or surrender. I suspect that there are some in India who believe that this is possible. They have been duped by the barrage of propaganda let loose on India and the world by the Anglo-Americans, I cannot but

Broadcast from somewhere in Burma, September 12, 1944

feel sorry to see that even some of the Congressmen have been taken in by it. These dupes believe that the Allies are well on the way to victory, and are therefore anxious to come to a compromise with British Imperialism.

If we stop to think for a moment, we shall realize that final victory will go to the Axis. The war will be decided not in the West but in the East. Our attacks during the last six months have given us an idea of our enemy's strength. During these six months, in spite of his dogged attempts, he was decisively beaten in many sectors and our victorious troops drove him out of the Kaladan, Haka, Tiddim, Bishenpur, Palel and Kohima areas. True, there is a lull in the fighting just now, but that is mainly due to the monsoon which has forced us to take the defensive. As we have already routed the enemy more than once, we are confident that we can do so again. We are resolved to fight till the motherland is free. We are aware that the struggle ahead of us will be a long and bitter one, and that it may take as long as two years or more to liberate India. But we must remember that the Anglo-Americans were able to gain only a few successes after five years of intense warfare. We shall not be discouraged if some time passes before we meet with success. We should not compromise with the British thinking that they are now winning, because then it will be impossible to liberate our motherland.

The agreement between the League and the Congress will be the forerunner of a compromise with Britain. If this should happen, India will remain a slave country for ever. As long as the Congress and Muslim League are separated there will be no compromise with the British. That is why the Congressmen who want to come to a compromise with Britain have decided to swallow the bitter pill of Pakistan. I wish to remind both the Congress and Muslim League leaders that even if there is an agreement between these two parties regarding the Pakistan issue, Britain will not grant freedom to India. They have already proved this by saying that the interests of the minorities and the princes should be safeguarded. Those who believe that a compromise between the Muslim League and the Congress will persuade Britain to grant India freedom are only deceiving themselves. That being so, I fail to see the necessity for a rapprochement between the League and the Congress. I am sure that even if Pakistan is conceded, it will not solve our problem. The League will never fight the British as we do. All that it wants is the division of India into Hindu and Muslim States. There will be four Muslim States which will remain under British influence. So, instead of a single slave India, we shall have four different slave Muslim States aiding and abetting Britain. The British will ignore the Congress-League agreement if it is against their interest. They will not relinquish their hold on India.

ARZI HUKUMATE AZAD HIND.

(THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF FREE INDIA)

Tokyo
29. 11. 44

Dear boys,

On the eve of my leaving the soil of Nippon, I want to send you my love and all good wishes for the success of your work. I have no son of my own but you are to me more than my own sons because you have dedicated your life to the cause, which is the one and only goal of my life — the freedom of "Bharat Mata". I am confident that you will always remain true to the CAUSE, and to "Bharat Mata".

I am sorry that I could not see you again before leaving — but you know that I am always with you in spirit.

God bless you
Jai Hind
Subhas Chandra Bose

At a women's rally of the Indian Independence League

Addressing a gathering of the I.N A at Singapore, early in 1943

I ask the millions of Muslim youngmen in India : "Will you be a party to the vivisection of your motherland? What will your status be in a divided India? Therefore, my friends, if you want freedom you must fight for it and kick the British out." There should be no compromise with Britain. Our divine motherland shall not be cut up.

Inquilab Zindabad! Azad Hind Zindabad!

THE WAR SITUATION

LADIES AND gentlemen, in October last I left Burma for a tour of East Asia. That is why I could not address you over the air. Last November, while broadcasting from Tokyo, I promised you a speech on the world situation. Before I start, I wish to offer you New Year greetings.

The new year finds the war in its final and decisive stage. The people of India; particularly the Indians of East Asia, should be prepared to make the greatest sacrifices. I undertook the tour to prepare the Indians in East Asia for this final battle. There is no place in East Asia where Indians are not to be found. Every Indian is enthusiastic about the battle for India's liberation. Men are joining the Indian National Army from all parts of East Asia and a large amount of money is also pouring in. This will continue until the freedom battle is won. I have visited Malaya, Japan, French Indo-China and the East-Indies, where I inspected the war effort of the Indian National Army. Burma and Malaya are two important centres of our activities. In Malaya alone, I received seven million dollars for the Indian National Army.

The war has entered its final stage. In October and November last, there were signs of it, but now it is crystal clear. The German counter-attack in the West and the V-1 and V-2 attacks have upset the Allied time-table. The Allied propaganda too has been exposed. Dismay prevails in England. The Germans have surpassed their enemies in the production of war material. The enemy has admitted that the German defences are strong.

On the other hand, there are deep-rooted differences between Russia, America and Britain. The bitter criticism of the British policy in Greece, Belgium and Italy by the American Press proves the existence of differences between America and Britain.

Whereas there is a sharp decline in man power in America and Britain, Japanese and German war production is mounting hourly. Even if Germany is defeated, the Anglo-American armies will have to be kept in Europe in order to stem the tide of Bolshevism, and this augurs well for Japan.

The Anglo-American position in the Pacific is even worse. The capture of a few islands in the Pacific by America provided the Allied propagandists with some material. But now they have realised that island-hopping won't do. This has even been admitted by General Wedemeyer. The Americans said that the Japanese Navy suffered a

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From a broadcast in Hindustani from Singapore, January 2, 1945

crushing defeat in October last in the waters of Formosa and the Philippines. But they now realise that the American Navy suffered the same fate as Napolean suffered while advancing towards Moscow. Coming events will bear me out. In the Philippines, the Japanese are dealing the Americans deadly blows.

The Indian National Army will shortly launch its attack and the British forces will be compelled to retreat until they are defeated. We have gained much exprience in the fighting on the Indo-Burma front, and we must make full use of it. We are certain of our victory. We know the weaknesses of our enemy and our faith in victory has been redoubled. We know that we shall have to fight hard battles on the Indo-Burma front. The battles of Chittagong and Imphal will decide the battle of India's liberation, for the Chittagong hills will be hard to overcome. We shall fight the enemy with patience and steadfastness.

Brothers and sisters, we assure you that we shall fulfil our mission. The Indian National Army will soon find itself in the plains of Bengal and Assam. When we arrive there, it will be your duty to help us. Meanwhile, you should continue to make preparations. But do not repeat 1942 before the time is ripe for it. Convey our New Year message to those rotting in British jails, and tell them that their sacrifices will not be in vain. India will be free.

Jai Hind!

TREACHERY

COMRADES, as you know, the positive achievements of the officers and men of the Azad Hind Fauj last year on the field of battle and the victories that they scored over the enemy through their patriotism, bravery and self-sacrifice, were marred to some extent by the cowardice and treachery of a few officers and men. We were hoping that with the advent of the New Year all traces of cowardice and treachery would be wiped out, and that in this year's operations, the Azad Hind Fauj would be able to put up an unsullied record of heroism and self-sacrifice. But that was not to be. The recent treachery of five officers of the H. Q. of the 2nd Division has come as an eye-opener to us that all is not well within our ranks and that the seeds of cowardice and treachery have yet to be wiped out. If we now succeed in exterminating cowardice and treachery once for all, this shameful and despicable incident may, through God's grace, ultimately prove to be a blessing in disguise. I am, therefore, determined to take all possible measures necessary for the purification of our Army. I am confident that in this I shall have your full and unstinted support.

From Special Order of the Day issued in Burma on March 13, 1945

DEPARTURE FROM BURMA

BRAVE OFFICERS and men of the Azad Hind Fauj!

It is with a heavy heart that I am leaving Burma—the scene of the many heroic battles you have fought since February 1944 and are still fighting. In Imphal and Burma we have lost the first round of our fight for independence. But it is only the first round. We have many more rounds to fight. I am a born optimist and I shall not admit defeat under any circumstances. Your brave deeds in the battles against the enemy on the plains of Imphal, the hills and jungles of Arakan and the oil-field area and other localities in Burma will live in the history of our struggle for independence for all time.

Comrades ! At this critical hour I have only one word of command to give you, and that is that if you have to go down temporarily, then go down as heroes; go down upholding the highest code of honour and discipline. The future generations of Indians who will be born, not as slaves but as free men, because of your colossal sacrifice, will bless your names and proudly proclaim to the world that you, their forbears, fought and lost the battle in Manipur, Assam and Burma, but through temporary failure you paved the way to ultimate success and glory.

My unshakable faith in India's liberation remains unaltered. I am leaving in your safe hands our National Tricolour and the best traditions of Indian warriors. I have no doubt whatsoever that you, the vanguard of India's liberation, will sacrifice everything, even life itself, to uphold India's national honour so that your comrades who will continue to fight elsewhere may have before them your shining example to inspire them at all times.

If I had my own way, I would have preferred to stay with you in adversity and share with you the sorrows of temporary defeat. But on the advice of my ministers and high-ranking officers, I have to leave Burma in order to continue the struggle for emancipation. Knowing my countrymen in East Asia and inside India, I can assure you that they can continue the fight under any circumstances and that all your suffering and sacrifices will not be in vain. So far as I am concerned, I shall steadfastly adhere to the pledge that I took on the 21st of October, 1943, to do all in my power to serve the interests of the 38 crores of my countrymen and fight for their liberation. I appeal to you, in conclusion, to cherish the same optimism as myself and to believe like myself that the darkest hour always precedes the dawn. India shall be free—and before long.

April 24, 1945

17—2 P D (I&B)/72

May God bless you ! Inquilab Zindabad ! Azad Hind Zindabad ! Jai Hind !

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MY INDIAN and Burmese friends in Burma ! Brothers and Sisters ! I am leaving Burma with a very heavy heart. We have lost the first round of our fight for independence. But we have lost only the first round. There are many more rounds to fight. In spite of our losing the first round, I see no reason for losing heart.

You, my countrymen in Burma, have done your duty to your motherland in a way that evoked the admiration of the world. You have given liberally of your men, money and materials. You set the first example of Total Mobilization. But the odds against us were overwhelming and we have temporarily lost the battle in Burma.

The spirt of selfless sacrifice that you have shown, particularly since I shifted my headquarters to Burma, is something that I shall never forget so long as I live.

I have the fullest confidence that this spirit can never be crushed. For the sake of India's freedom, I beseech you to keep up that spirit. I beseech you to hold your heads erect, and wait for that blessed day when once again you will have an opportunity of waging the war for India's independence.

When the history of India's last war of independence comes to be written, Indians in Burma will have an honoured place in that history. I cannot conclude this message without publicly acknowledging once again my heartfelt gratitude to the Government and people of Burma for all the help that I have received at their hands in carrying on this struggle. The day will come when Free India will repay that debt of gratitude in a generous manner.

Inquilab Zindabad ! Azad Hind Zindabad ! Jai Hind !

SOVIET SUPPORT FOR INDIA

THERE WAS a time when German armies had advanced inside Russia right up to Stalingrad. I wonder how many people there were who, in those days, could imagine that the tide would turn, that one day the Soviet Army would be in Berlin. Germany's defeat is one of the surprises of this war. Clausewitz was perfectly right when he said that "war has many surprises". But there are more surprises to come, and some of these surprises will not be welcome to our enemies. You know very well that I have been always of the opinion that if Germany collapsed, it would be a signal for the outbreak of an acute conflict between the Soviets and the Anglo-Americans. That conflict has already broken out and it will be intensified in the days to come. The time is not far off when our enemies will realize that though they have succeeded in overthrowing Germany, they have indirectly helped to bring into the arena of European politics another power, Soviet Russia, that may prove to be a greater menace to British and American Imperialism than Germany was. The Provisional Government of Azad Hind will continue to follow international developments with the closest interest and endeavour to take the fullest advantage of them. The fundamental principle of our foreign policy has been and will be: Britain's enemy is India's friend.

It is clear by now that war aims of the Soviet Union are quite different from those of the Anglo-Americans, although they had common enemy in Germany. This has been further confirmed at the San Francisco Conference where the Soviet Foreign Commissar, M. Molotov, refused to submit to the Anglo-American demands. In fact M. Molotov went so far as to challenge the credentials of the puppets of Britain and America who came to represent India and the Philippines respectively. The differences that became visible at the San Francisco Conference are only a precursor of a much wider and deeper conflict between the Soviet and the Anglo-Americans which the future has in store for the world.

While the conflict between the Soviets and the Anglo-Americans is going on, we should not fail to understand the real position and strength of our principal enemy, Britain. So long as Britain was without the aid of America, whether in Europe or in East Asia, she was badly beaten in every battle. Britain's recent successes have been due first and foremost to American leadership and American assistance. I have no doubt in my mind, and I have said so again and again in the past, that the days of the British Empire are drawing to

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Excerpts from speech at Bangkok, May 21, 1945

a close. The British Empire is a decadent and decaying empire, and it is endeavouring now to prolong its life with the help of the United States of America. But though the life of an old man may be prolonged with the help of skilful doctors and efficacious medicines and injections, it can never be restored to useful vitality. The British Empire is endeavouring to march on with the help of American crutches, but these American crutches cannot help Britain very long. All that we have to do is to deliver a knock-out blow to British Imperialism in India, which is the basis of Britain's world Imperialism.

Our programme in East Asia remains unaltered. I demand from my countrymen in East Asia Total Mobilization. We want more money, more men and more materials to replenish the losses we have recently suffered. Above all, we want an indomitable will and unshakable determination. Let me remind you that it took the British full 100 years from 1757 to 1857 to subjugate India finally. Therefore if we are to fight on for a few years more, in order to recover our liberty, nobody should grudge it. I want you to cherish the same optimism and confidence in final victory as we have. It is this spiritual strength that is our sheet-anchor. India shall be free, and before long.

THE GERMAN DEFEAT

THE WAR situation in Europe developed with dramatic suddenness during the last week of April and the first week of May. Though it was apparent to every observer since the beginning of this year that the German armed forces would not be able to hold out for an indefinite period, nobody could predict how and when that end would come.

The courage, tenacity and fortitude with which the armed forces of Germany fought till the moment of Herr Hitler's death must have evoked the admiration of the whole world. In my own view, the defeat of Germany was not a military but a political one. It was the foreign policy of Germany, *vis-a-vis* Soviet Russia and other countries, that was fundamentally responsible for the military disaster which has now overtaken the German nation. One of the blunders committed by the German Government in the realm of foreign policy was its total disregard of Bismark's advice to the German nation never to fight on two fronts. The turning point in European affairs came in 1940 when M. Molotov, the Soviet Foreign Minister, visited Berlin. That was the hour when German statesmanship should have risen to its fullest height and reached an understanding with Soviet Russia by any means. If Bismark had been alive he would have done that. But unfortunately for the German nation, just as faulty statesmanship was responsible for its defeat in the first World War, so also has it been responsible for its defeat in the present war.

The problem that should now engage the attention of every student of international affairs is as to what will happen to Europe in the future. On this point my views are perfectly clear, and I firmly adhere to what I have consistently said in the past, namely that the collapse of Germany will be the signal for the outbreak of an acute conflict between the Soviets and Anglo-Americans. The whole world knows that the war aims of Soviet Russia are quite different from those of the Anglo-Americans. The Soviet Government knows that the defeat of Germany has been due first and foremost to the heroism, tenacity and sacrifice of the people and armed forces of the Soviet Union. Consequently, the Soviet Government, being conscious of its own strength, will never give in to the Anglo-American Powers in the post-war reconstruction of Europe. The truth of this remark has been already exemplified at San Francisco where the conference virtually resulted in a fiasco when M. Molotov left that city.

The San Francisco Conference is only a precursor of the events

Statement broadcast from Singapore, May 25. 1945

that are to follow in the domain of European affairs. Europe now stands at the crossroads of history. Prior to the outbreak of the present war the affairs of Europe were in a chaotic condition, with the Big Powers pulling in different directions. Germany, however, had a plan for the reorganization of Europe and during the last five years she endeavoured to work out that plan. Now, with the collapse of Germany, that plan has come to naught. In post-war Europe there is only one other power that has a plan which is worth a trial, and that power is the Soviet Union. If there is one man in Europe today who holds in his hands the destinies of the European nations for the next few decades, that man is Marshal Stalin. The whole world, and above all Europe, will therefore follow with the greatest anxiety the moves of the Soviet Union in the days to come.

In this hour of Germany's sorrow I cannot help reiterating on behalf of the Indian people and myself our heartfelt gratitude to the German people and nation for the sympathy and support that they gave us in our struggle for freedom.

STOP VINDICTIVENESS

INFORMATION THAT has reached us from reliable sources in Burma goes to show that vindictive and brutal treatment is being meted out to officers and men of the Azad Hind Fauj, the Indian National Army, who have been captured by the Anglo-Americans in Burma. As the whole world knows, the Anglo-Americans, and in particular the British, have always been in the habit of condemning Germany and Japan for their supposed ill-treatment of the Anglo-American prisoners-of-war. But I would not like to ask what the Anglo-Americans themselves are doing to the members of the Azad Hind Fauj, who happen to fall into their hands in Burma?

It may be that the British authorities think that we are not in a position to retaliate, and that they can, therefore, do what they like with our officers and men. But I would like to warn the British authorities that this is not the case. If we are forced to do so, we can find ways and means for adopting retaliatory measures. But even before that, there is one remedy open to us that is not only efficacious but also easy. If our countrymen at home take up this matter and carry on a raging and tearing campaign inside India, I am absolutely sure that the British authorities will be brought to their senses and will see the error of their ways.

Public opinion in India may not be strong enough to force the British to concede independence to India, but it is certainly strong enough to stop the ill-treatment and persecution of members of the Azad Hind Fauj, who have become prisoners-of-war at the hands of the British. Members of the Azad Hind Fauj are honest patriots and revolutionaries fighting for the freedom of their Motherland. They, no doubt, fought bravely and stubbornly against the British, but they fought with clean hands and with a clear conscience. They are, therefore, entitled to fair treatment during captivity, in accordance with international usage and convention.

Consequently, I appeal to my countrymen at home to take up the cause of their own prisoners-of-war who fought for India's liberation and who are now receiving brutal and vindictive treatment at the hands of the British. I appeal to them also to compel the British authorities to divulge correct information about the fate of these prisoners-of-war, so that the world may judge how far the British themselves observe the rules and canons of international warfare to which they pay so much lip-homage.

Statement broadcast from Bangkok, June 14, 1945

WAVELL'S OFFER

SISTERS AND brothers in India! Today I want to speak to you on the subject of Lord Wavell's offer. But before I do so, I should like to draw your attention to the communique issued by the Provisional Government of Azad Hind on the same topic. That communique has been broadcast to you from this station yesterday and again today. The importance of this communique lies in the fact that it represents the considered opinion of politically-minded Indians in East Asia. If the Congress decides to accept Lord Wavell's offer and if, as an inevitable consequence of it, the Congress leaders come at the head of the Indian troops to fight Britain's imperialist war in the Far East, then there will be no option for us but to fight with the Azad Hind Fauj against our own countrymen, who would then be allies of British Imperialism.

British and American news agencies have been giving detailed reports of the daily developments inside India. With the help of these reports it is possible to form a correct picture of what is going on inside our country. From the reports coming from India, it is clear to me that most people are absorbed in the consideration of the secondary features and the insignificant details of British offer while, on the other hand, they do not give sufficient attention tc the fundamental issues involved in that offer. I would, therefore, beg you to consider first of all what the inevitable results of accepting Wavell's offer will be, because the Congress leaders will have to take the responsibility of sending at least half-a-million Indian troops to fight Britain's imperialist war, not on the Indo-Burma border or inside Burma, but in the regions beyond Burma and in the Pacific. With all due respect I would like to ask Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and other leaders whether they will take the responsibility of fighting Britain's imperialist war in the Far East and of sacrificing half-a-million Indian lives for the same.

Our countrymen at home do not perhaps realize what the real origin of the present offer of the British Government is. As I have said in a separate statement, I have definite information obtained from reliable sources that the British Government was asked by the United States of America to provide sufficient men, money and material for the future campaigns in the Far East. The British Government was prepared to produce the required money and material, but was unable to provide the manpower from Britain, for reasons to which I shall

Broadcast from Singapore, June 19, 1945

subsequently refer. The British Government thereupon asked Lord Wavell to obtain half-a-million Indian troops from India in order to meet the demand of the United States of America. Lord Wavell, knowing the Indian situation, was unable to comply with this request because a big portion of the British Indian Army has been engaged in the war in Africa, Asia and Europe over a long time, and has now become war-weary. Lord Wavell informed the British Cabinet that unless sufficient public enthusiasm was aroused in India, it would be impossible to find half-a-million Indian troops who would be willing to fight Britain's war in the Far East. Thereafter communications took place between Lord Wavell and the British Cabinet as to how India's support could be mobilized for the future military operations in East Asia, that is, in Malaya, Thailand, Indo-China, China and Japan proper.

The real motive underlying the British offer is somehow to get, with the approval of the Indian nationalists and the full connivance of the Congress, half-a-million troops with necessary material to fight Britain's imperialist war in East Asia. Hence it is Chungking that will profit greatly if Indian troops are made available for the war in the Far East. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Chungking Government and its propaganda organs are now jubilant over Lord Wavell's offer, and want the Congress to accept it. Indian troops sent out to the Far East in the future will be opposed by the Indian National Army. There is no Indian who can be indifferent to this, nor can anyone approve of this plan of sacrificing half-a-million Indian lives for Britain's imperialist war in East Asia.

I have already said that there are definite reasons why the British Government is unable to obtain from Britain itself the necessary fighting men needed for future campaigns in the Far East. First of all the British have suffered tremendous losses during the war on many fronts over a period of five years and nine months. As a result, the British people are war-weary and British troops are not willing to face another long campaign which will have to be fought under conditions much harder than in Europe. Secondly, unlike the First World War, this war has well nigh brought about the financial bankruptcy of Britain. Owing to the pressure of war and the colossal demand for war material, British industries had to switch over almost entirely to war production. This was not the case with American industries. The result was that during the war Britain has been fast losing her pre-war markets and these markets were steadily going into the hands of American industry. If this process goes on for a long time during this war, then Britain, in spite of an Allied Victory, will lose the greater portion of her pre-war foreign trade and will be economically ruined. For this reason, British leaders find it im-

perative to release their factory workers from the fighting forces and war services as soon as possible, and thereby restart peace-time industries. It is absolutely impossible for Britain to do both things at the same time namely, to fight another long campaign in the Far East and to restart her peace-time industries

Therefore, the other big source of manpower within the British Empire, namely, India, is to be exploited in order to produce cannon-fodder for the future campaigns in East Asia. If it had been possible to get the required half-a-million troops from India without popular sympathy and support, Wavell's offer would never have seen the light of day; but, since the British Indian Army has already been fighting over a long period and is war-weary, it is absolutely essential for Lord Wavell and the British Cabinet to win over the Congress in order to get the required cannon-fodder for their future campaigns.

I have no doubt in my mind that under normal circumstances nobody belonging to the Congress would have even looked at Lord Wavell's offer. In order to give their consideration to that offer Congressmen will have to give a go-by to the fundamental principles and beliefs of the Indian National Congress. The Congress stands for complete independence. Lord Wavell's offer, as has been rightly pointed out by Mahatma Gandhi, does not even mention the word "independence". Secondly, the Congress stands for non-participation in and resistance to Britain's imperialist war. Thirdly, the Congress is still pledged to the 'Quit India' resolution adopted three years ago, and the national slogan for the Indian people since then has been 'Do or Die' in the fight for India's freedom. No Congressman can, consistent with his principles, therefore, look at Lord Wavell's offer, not to speak of giving consideration to it. Nevertheless the fact that so many Congressmen and leaders are actually considering the British offer is because a wave of defeatism has swept over India since the Anglo-American successes in Europe and in Burma. In a fit of pessimism and defeatism some Congressmen are forgetting their life-long principles and are now reconsidering the offer which they rejected in 1942.

What I want to tell my countrymen at home clearly and frankly is that the pessimism and defeatism which seems to have overtaken them is altogether unjustified. Whether one considers the international war situation or the international political situation, there is no cause for pessimism or despondency. The war in East Asia, whatever its ultimate result may be, is going to be a long and bitter one. The whole world knows that there is no real unity in the camp of the so-called United Nations. The war aims of Soviet Russia are quite different from those of the Anglo-American Powers and the conflict between the Soviets and the Anglo-Americans is growing from day to

day. Both sides have of late been trying to patch up their differences in Europe, but that is because they are preparing for a showdown in the Far East. Since the collapse of Germany in Europe, Soviet Russia has been taking an increasing interest in the affairs of Asia. Had it not been for this, M. Molotov, the Soviet Foreign Minister, would not have declared at San Franciso that the day was not far off when the voice of Free India would be heard in the world.

While the war in the East will be going on, surprising developments are bound to take place in the domain of international affairs. Some of these developments will not be favourable to our enemies, and they will afford India further opportunities for achieving her independence. Syria and the Lebanon, in spite of the Allied victory in Europe, are fully utilizing the international situation for achieving their independence. By using England and the United States of America against French imperialism, Syria and the Lebanon are setting an example to India as to how India can utilize the present international situation for winning her freedom. There is no doubt that the day is not far off when other Arab States will use other friendly Powers against Britain. British politicians realize this, and they realize also that India will utilize the support of friendly Powers for winning her independence, and some of these friendly Powers may come from inside the camp of the United Nations. During the course of this war India has become a live issue in world politics, and there is no doubt that in all international conferences in future the Indian issue will be raised. British politicians, therefore, want to prevent India from remaining an international issue any longer, and want to convert India into a domestic issue of the British Empire. Let us not forget that the moment there is a compromise between nationalist India and Britain, India will become a domestic issue of the British Empire, and it will then be impossible for foreign Powers such as Soviet Russia to intervene on behalf of Indian independence.

In spite of the recent military successes of our enemies, India has been making rapid progress towards her goal of independence. In addition to what the Indian people have been doing at home, two distinct forces have been working for India's independence. Firstly, those who have been fighting with arms against India's enemies, and secondly, those who have been advocating India's independence before the bar of world opinion. Those who have hitherto been fighting with arms against India's enemies shall go on fighting in future. So far as the Indian National Army is concerned, it will go on fighting to the last man and to the last round. Similarly, those who have made India an international issue and who have been advocating on India's behalf before the world will also go on doing so. The forces working outside India, coupled with the resistance inside India, are irresistible. If you,

my countrymen at home, cannot fight British Imperialism with arms, then at least keep up moral resistance to our enemy by refusing to compromise with him or to fight his imperialist war.........

Sisters and brothers at home! I shall address you again tomorrow at about this time. Today before I close, I should like to say one thing more. You are now violently condemning the Viceroy and you are criticizing him for giving an equal number of seats in the Executive Council to caste Hindus and to Muslims. But why don't you go deeper into the question and find out the idea behind it? So far not one single Indian leader has done so, judging from the reports that are now before me. I regret that the members of the Hindu Mahasabha have taken what appears to be their own peculiar line. Our objection should not be to Muslims getting a majority of seats on the Executive Council. The moot question is what type of Muslims will come into the Executive Council. If we have Muslims of the type of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Asaf Ali and Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, the destiny of India will be safe. And I personally believe that it is only right to give all the freedom to such patriots. There is no difference between a patriotic Muslim and a patriotic Hindu. The British intention in the present case is to give all the Muslim seats to the nominees of the Muslim League. Seats reserved for the caste Hindus should all be given to the Congress. For the remaining seats the Viceroy will appoint his own nominees, who will act according to the Viceroy's directions. Consequently, with the Muslim League acting in full cooperation with the British Government, the Congress Party in the Executive Council will become a permanent minority. Thus, by a clever stratagem the Viceroy will not only continue to rule India arbitrarily as he has done uptil now, but he will continue to do so in future with the help of the Congress............

At this critical juncture it is the duty of all right-thinking and patriotic Indians, particularly of all progressive Congressmen, to start a raging and tearing campaign all over the country against Lord Wavell's offer. Mahatma Gandhi has always been responsive to public opinion, as a leader should be. By declining to represent the Congress officially at the Simla Conference, he has done the right thing and has kept himself free to adopt the line which he thinks is right and in accordance with the wishes of the people and in the true interests of India. I have no doubt in my mind that public opinion, and in particular the opinion among the rank and file of the Congress, should oppose this plan without delay. Mahatma Gandhi will not fail to take notice of it and he will then advise the Congress to reject the unwanted offer. Sisters and brothers, the destiny of India now lies in your hands; be up and doing and see to it that Lord Wavell's offer goes the same way as the Cripps offer of 1942. Jai Hind!

LET NOT CWC DECIDE

MOST OF those who view Indian problems from the correct point of view cannot easily make their voice heard, particularly because some of them are now in custody. If Mahatma Gandhi and the members of the Congress Working Committee had insisted on the release of all political prisoners prior to any negotiations with the British Government, then we would have had no cause for anxiety. If the release of all political prisoners had taken place and a full meeting of the entire All India Congress Committee had been held, then the opinion of the entire Congress organisation would have made itself heard. But the British Government, cunning as it is, has deliberately kept the rest of the political prisoners in custody and released only the members of the Congress Working Committee, so that the opinion of the entire Left Wing of the Congress may be effectively muzzled.

I have no doubt in my mind that public opinion in India, and in particular the Congress organisation, has moved much further in a revolutionary direction since the beginning of the present war in 1939. Consequently, if a plenary session of the Congress were held today or even a full meeting of the All India Congress Committee, Lord Wavell's offer would be rejected by an overwhelming majority. The British Government and Lord Wavell know the Indian situation and they realize that if the British offer had been left to the verdict of Congressmen in general or even of the All India Congress Committee, then there would not be the slightest chance of its acceptance. They have, therefore, created a situation in which only the members of the Congress Working Committee will decide about Lord Wavell's offer on behalf of the Congress. According to the Congress constitution, the Working Committee cannot take final decision on behalf of the Congress on such an all-important issues.

Apart from the provision of the Congress constitution, according to which the Working Committee is a mere executive body and not its deliberative or law-making body, from the purely moral point of view it is wrong and unfair for the Working Committee to dispose of a matter which might affect the future of the Congress and India for several decades. Even at this late hour, I honestly and humbly appeal to Mahatma Gandhi not to make a decision behind the back of the Congress.

From a broadcast from Singapore, June 21, 1945

THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT

INSPITE OF our recent reverses in Burma, our optimism and our confidence in our final victory remain unimpaired. India's independence can be won by the end of this war because of three principal factors: firstly, our armed struggle in East Asia; secondly, diplomacy in the international field; and, thirdly, resistance inside India. It goes without saying that the greater the resistance inside India, the less time will it take for us to win our independence. But even if resistance inside India is only moral in character, India will remain an international issue and there will be ample scope for discussion in the international field. The most important problem for us is to continue the bitter struggle against the British in East Asia. This will have a two-fold effect in that it will influence the cause of India and it will also help to purge our countrymen at home of the defeatist mentality which is the result of successful enemy propaganda. Secondly, it would tend to reveal our rightful claim before the world, and enable us to secure the support of friendly Powers. To continue the armed struggle we must keep our confidence in our final victory.

In this connection I want to refer to what Marshal Foch wrote in his memoirs. Talking of victory and defeat, Marshal Foch said : "That army is beaten which considers itself to be beaten." So long as an army does not consider itself to be beaten, defeat in any particular area does not mean real defeat. The British, for example, were expelled from Burma in 1942, but they have managed to re-enter Burma. Who can say that we shall not recapture in Burma what we have lost? When we were withdrawing from Burma I reminded my comrades of the above remark of Marshal Foch, and I pointed out that we were not beaten by any means, because not one of us felt that he was beaten, or that the battle was lost.

A true revolutionary is one who never acknowledges defeat, who never feels depressed or disheartened. A true revolutionary believes in the justice of his cause and is confident that his cause is bound to prevail in the long run. Though we have lost the first round of the battle of Burma, I find that we have been able to influence even the enemy. After entering Burma the enemy was able to see and hear something of the work of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and of the Azad Hind Fauj. Previously, the enemy used always to refer to us as the "Japanese Puppet Army". After entering Burma he began to call us the "Japanese-inspired Indian National Army". But now they refer to us as the Indian National Army.

Excerpts from a broadcast from Singapore, June 24, 1945

When the British took Mandalay they issued an order that no Indian was to use the greeting "Jai Hind" which, as you know, means "Victory to India". The result of this order was that boys and girls of our Balak Sena in Mandalay came out in the streets and greeted British Officers with "Jai Hind". Our point is that if we go on fighting bravely and shedding our blood, we shall not only be able to influence those of our countrymen who are indifferent and lukewarm, but we shall also be able to impress the enemy.

A HARDENED SOLDIER

THE CRISIS that faces India today has arisen, because some influential sections among our countrymen who, only three years ago, were shouting "Liberty or Death" are now prepared to enter into a compromise with the British Government on Lord Wavell's own terms. This attitude is altogether mistaken and unjustified for two reasons. Firstly, there can be no compromise over the question of independence. Secondly, the situation is not what these countrymen of ours think, and, if we continue our resistance to British Imperialism, we shall win our independence by the end of this war.

I understand that some of the leaders at home are furious with me for opposing their plants for a compromise with the British Government. They are also furious with me for pointing out that the Congress Working Committee has constitutionally no right to make such a fateful decision behind the back of the All India Congress Committee.

These leaders are abusing me for taking the help of the Japanese. I am not ashamed of taking the help of Japan My co-operation with Japan is on the basis that Japan recognises India's complete independence. Japan has granted formal recognition to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind or Free India. But those who now want to co-operate with the British Government and fight Britain's imperialist war are prepared to accept the position of subordinates, responsible to Britain's Viceroy in India. If their leaders co-operate with the British Government on the basis that Britain grant formal recognition to the Government of Free India, that would be a different matter.

Japan has given us the arms with which to organise an army. This army, the Azad Hind Fauj, has been trained by Indian instructors, using the Indian language. This army carries India's national flag, and its slogans are India's national slogans. This army has its own Indian officers and its own officers training schools, run entirely by Indians. And in the field of battle, this army fights under its own Indian commanders, some of whom have now reached the rank of Generals. If they are called a puppet, then it is the British Indian Army that should be called a puppet army, because it is fighting Britain's imperialist war under British officers. Am I to believe that in an army of two and a half million Indians are found fit only to obtain the highest honour in the British army, namely the Victoria Cross, but not one single Indian is found fit to hold the rank of General?

Comrades! I would never have opened my mouth and said one word to you if I had been sitting as an arm-chair politician here.

From a broadcast from Singapore, June 24, 1945

But I and my comrades here are engaged in a grim struggle. Our comrades at the front have to play with death. Even those who are not at the front have to face danger every moment of their existence. When we were in Burma, bombings and machine-gunning were our daily entertainment. I have seen many of my comrades killed, maimed and injured from the enemy's ruthless bombing and machine-gunning. I have seen the entire hospital of the Azad Hind Fauj in Rangoon razed to the ground, with our helpless patients suffering heavy casualties. That I and many others with me still live today, is only through God's grace. It is because we are living, working and fighting in the face of death that I have a right to speak to you and to advise you.

Most of you do not know what bombing is. Most of you do not know what it is to be machine-gunned by low flying bombers and fighters. Most of you have had no experience of bullets whistling past you, to your right and to your left. Those who have gone through this experience and have kept up their morale dare not even look at Lord Wavell's offer.

Comrades ! I shall now close for the day, but before I conclude, I would remind you that a revolutionary is one who believes in the justice of a cause, and who believes that the cause is bound to prevail in the long run. He who gets depressed over failures is no revolutionary. The motto for a revolutionary is: "Hope for the best, but be prepared for the worst". I am confident that if we fight and if we play our cards well in the international field, we shall win our freedom by the end of this war. But that does not mean that if, by any chance, we fail to do so, we should be disheartened or depressed. Consequently, if the worst happens and India does not emerge as an independent state by the end of this war, our next plan should be a post-war revolution inside India. And if we fail in that too, then there will indeed be World War III to give us another opportunity to strike for our freedom.

INDIANS IN MALAYA

OUR TASK in East Asia is a two-fold one. Firstly, to continue the armed struggle which we launched on the 4th February, 1943; and, secondly, to agitate for Indian independence in the international field and also to utilize every conflict within the camp of the so-called United Nations, and in particular the conflict between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-Americans. For our fight in East Asia, Malaya is our base. So long as the British are kept out of Malaya, our work for India's independence will continue un-interrupted. Therefore, if at any time the British try to land in Malaya, we will fight with all the strength that we have.

When the history of Indian Independence is finally written, Indians in Malaya will have a glorious place in that history. The contribution of Indians in Malaya for India's struggle for freedom in men, money and materials has been great and India will remain always greateful for the same. In particular, Malaya has been the birth place of the Azad Hind Fauj and of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. Malaya has contributed a large number of youngmen who have fought bravely and died for India's freedom, and Malaya has made the largest contribution to the rank of the Rani of Jhansi regiment. Indians in Malaya must maintain the brilliant record that they have already set up. It is from Malaya that the call for Total Mobilisation first went out.

Today, I want to appeal to you for more men, more money and more materials. After our most recent reverses in Burma, your responsibility has become greater. Knowing what you have done in the past, I have no doubt that you will do more in the future. I only want you to keep up your faith in the justice of our cause. So long as you keep up this faith, you will also keep up your optimism and your confidence in final victory

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From address at a rally of Indians in Singapore, June 24, 1945

BILL ON BURMA

THE FIRST stage in the gradual disillusionment of the people of Burma has been reached. As compensation for the loss of their newly won independence, the Burmese people have been presented with a new bill, which is now before the British Parliament. This Bill is accompanied by the usual vague promise of self-government. For the present, the only possible thing that Burma will get will be an Executive Council which will be responsible not to the Burmese people or their legislature, but to the Governor himself. A few officials and non-officials and some Britishers will be given seats in the Executive Council. There will be a debating society in the shape of a legislature, which will have no control over the Governor or his Executive Council, and which will serve as an entertainment to those who love a talk.

If the British think that the people of Burma, who have had a taste of independence, however short, will be deceived by such tricks, then I must say that they have learnt nothing since they were driven out of East Asia. It goes without saying that the disillusionment which has begun to overtake the Burmese people will be complete when they finally realize that the British promise of self-government, not of independence, is nothing more than similar promises of the past. I have no doubt in my mind that when complete disillusionment ultimately overtakes them, the Burmese people will turn against their British rulers the weapons that they recently secured when they were enjoying their independence.

Statement broadcast from Singapore, June 25, 1945

SIMLA CONFERENCE

I AM surprised and pained to find that there are some political-minded Indians today who do not realise that the Viceroy and his masters have laid a trap for the Indian people. These gentlemen go so far as to believe in the *bona fides* of Lord Wavell and praise his sincerity, but I find that the Viceroy has himself exposed his own character, his motives and intentions. While opening the Simla Conference on June 25, Lord Wavell delivered a sermon to the Indian leaders and said, "You must accept my leadership for the present until there is some agreed change in the constitution. I am responsible to His Majesty's Government for the good Government and tranquility of India." But that is not all. Earlier in his speech, Lord Wavell said, "I have called you together from all parts of India at this critical moment in our history to advise and help you in advancing India towards prosperity, political freedom and greatness."

It is impossible for a self-respecting Indian to put up with this type of patronising. As far as I am aware, nobody has appointed Lord Wavell as the guardian of India, nor has anybody placed India's destiny in his hands. I should like very much to know if the Congress Working Committee accepts this role of Lord Wavell as the arbiter of India's destiny.

While talking of the Simla Conference, I must offer my respectful congratulations to Mahatma Gandhi on the wise step he has taken in not attending it. To me it is clear indication that Mahatma Gandhi remembers how the British Government treated him at the Round Table Conference held in London in 1931. Then it was so manoeuvered that Mahatma Gandhi's position as the sole representative of the Congress was brought down to the level of the other nationalist parties attending that conference. His non-attendance at the Simla Conference not only enhances his own position but may even be helpful to the cause of India.

From a broadcast from Singapore, June 27, 1945.

CONFERENCE ADJOURNED

BROTHERS AND sisters in India, as I told you yesterday, it is all to the good that the Simla Conference has been postponed for a fortnight. This will give the public sufficient time to ponder over the matter coolly and carefully, without being hustled into a compromise with the British Government. When the Simla Conference met, the immediate danger was that the compromise would be effected then and there, and that the Congress Working Committee would face the public with a *fait accompli*. The public would then be in an extremely embarrassing position and would have to choose between two alternatives, either to swallow the bitter pill for the sake of keeping up the prestige of the leaders or to repudiate those whom they had so long loved and respected.

From a broadcast from Singapore, July 1, 1945

CWC MEETING

BROTHERS AND sisters in India, today is the fateful day when the Congress Working Committee is meeting to consider Lord Wavell's offer. From the reports sent out from India by various news agencies, it appears that most of the members of the Congress Working Committee are bent upon arriving at a compromise with the British Government on the basis of Lord Wavell's offer; but neither from the constitutional nor from the moral point of view, it is fair or proper for the Working Committee to make such a momentous decision behind the back of the All India Congress Committee and the Congress. Constitutionally, the Working Committee has no power to do so. The acceptance of Lord Wavell's offer will not only set at naught the fundamental principles and resolutions of the Congress, but will drag the Indian people into whole-hearted participation in Britain's imperialist war in the Far East.

From a broadcast from Singapore, July 3, 1945

MANY ROADS TO DELHI

COMRADES, in our struggle for the independence of our Motherland, we have now been overwhelmed by an undreamt-of crisis. You may perhaps feel that you have failed in your mission to liberate India. But let me tell you that this failure is only of a temporary nature. No set-back and no defeat can undo your positive achievements of the past. Many of you have participated in the fight along the Indo-Burma frontier and also inside India and have gone through hardship and suffering of every sort. Many of your comrades have laid down their lives on the battlefield and have become the immortal heroes of Azad Hind. This glorious sacrifice can never go in vain.

Comrades, in this dark hour I call upon you to conduct yourselves with the discipline, dignity and strength befitting a truly Revolutionary Army. You have already given proofs of your valour and self-sacrifice on the field of battle. It is now your duty to demonstrate your undying optimism and unshakable will-power in the hour of temporary defeat. Knowing you as I do, I have not the slightest doubt that even in this dire adversity you will hold your heads erect and face the future with unending hope and confidence.

Comrades, I feel that in this critical hour, thirty-eight crores of our countrymen at home are looking at us, the Members of India's Army of Liberation. Therefore, remain true to India and do not for a moment waver in your faith in India's destiny. The roads to Delhi are many and Delhi still remains our goal. The sacrifices of your immortal comrades and of yourselves will certainly achieve their fulfilment. There is no power on earth that can keep India enslaved. India shall be free and before long.

Special Order of the Day on August 15, 1945, to the officers and men of the Azad Hind Fauj, following the surrender of Japan.

INDIA SHALL BE FREE

BROTHERS AND sisters! A glorious chapter in the history of struggle for freedom has just come to a close and, in that chapter, the sons and daughters of India in East Asia will have an undying place.

You set a shining example of patriotism and self-sacrifice by pouring out men, money and material into the struggle for India's independence. I shall never forget the spontaneity and enthusiasm with which you responded to my call for Total Mobilisation. You sent an unending stream of your sons and daughters to the camps to be trained as soldiers of the Azad Hind Fauj and of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment. Money and materials, you poured lavishly into the war chest of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. In short, you did your duty as true sons and daughters of India.

I regret, more than you do, that your sufferings and sacrifices have not borne immediate fruit. But they have not gone in vain, because they have ensured the emancipation of our Motherland and will serve as an undying inspiration to Indians all over the world. Posterity will bless your name and will talk with pride about your offerings at the altar of India's freedom, and about your positive achievements as well.

In this unprecedented crisis in our history, I hope only one word to say. Do not be depressed at our temporary failure. Be of good cheer and keep up your spirits. Above all, never for a moment falter in your faith in India's destiny. There is no power on earth that can keep India enslaved. India shall be free, and before long.

Jai Hind!

Message of August 16, 1945 to Indians in East Asia

GIPN—S3—2 P. D. I. & B./72—14-12-74—3000.